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Loyalty and Peace

Or, Two Seasonable

DISCOURSES

From *1 Sam. 24. 5. viz.*
David's heart smote him be-
cause he cut off Saul's skirt.

The First,
OF CONSCIENCE
and its Smitings.

The Second,
Of the Prodigious Impiery of *Murthering*
King CHARLES I.

Intended
To promote sincere *Devotion* and *Hu-*
miliation upon each Anniversary
Fast for the late King's Death.

By Dr. SAMUEL ROLLS.
Chaplain in Ordinary to his Majesty.

L O N D O N,
Printed by *Tho. James* Mathematical Printer
to the King's most Excellent Majesty, for
Joseph Hindmarsh at the *Black Bull* in *Corn-*
hill near the *Royal Exchange*. 1678.

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July 1st 1860

Dear Sir

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 27th inst.

and in reply to inform you that the same has been forwarded to the proper authorities for their consideration.

I am, Sir, very respectfully,
Yours obedient servant,

J. H. [Signature]

Secretary of the Board of Education

State of New York

Albany

July 1st 1860

Enclosed for you are the reports of the

Commissioners of the Board of Education

for the year ending June 30th 1860.

I am, Sir, very respectfully,
Yours obedient servant,

J. H. [Signature]

Secretary of the Board of Education

State of New York

Albany

The Epistle Dedicatory.

*but stand ready for such another? I had dedicated these my first-fruits in the Church, to him to whom all first-fruits are due; but that I considered, that Kings, like High Altars, ought not to be approached all at once, but by steps and degrees; as also that such a Tragedy as I here relate, could not be pleasant to his Majesty to read, though very profitable for his Subjects that it should be written. The Loyal Contents of this small Treatise may assure the world, that your Lordship hath admitted into his Majesties Service, a Person of as unfained and fervent Loyalty as your heart could wish, or as the world affords. And now my Lord, what remains but my most ardent wishes (in which I know your Lordship will joyn with me) viz. That the Soul of our Lord the King may be bound in the bundle of life with the Lord his God (as the Phrase is, 1 Sam. 25. 29.) and the lives of his enemies may be flung out as out
of*

The Epistle Dedicatory.

of the middle of a sling ; that his Enemies may be clothed with shame , but upon himself his Crown may flourish; *and that God would cover his head both in the day of Battle , and of Peace. For your Lordship, I have no greater thing to wish, than that the King of Kings may take your Lordship as much into his favour, as the King of England has done ; and instead of the Star which his Majesty hath bestowed upon you, may in due time give you that Crown of Righteousness, which the Lord the righteous Judg shall give at the great day to all them that love his appearing, which is the hearty Prayer, of*

My Lord,

Your Lordships most humble, faithful and obedient Servant,

S. ROLLS.

TO

The most Reverend Father in God,

WILLIAM

Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Pri-
mate of all *England*, and Metropolitan;
and one of his Majesty's most Ho-
nourable Privy Council,

S. R.

The least of all the Servants of the
Church, and not worthy to be so called,
humbly dedicates his poor and unwor-
thy Labours in the ensuing *Treatise of*
Conscience, &c.

May it please your Grace:

THough some Writings of extraordina-
ry men may seem to need no Patron,
yet I am very sensible that mine do,
and this of mine above all the rest
(which for the nature of the Subject may
pretend to deserve one) because I do easily
foresee it will fall under the displeasure of ma-
ny, both for the Author's and Arguments-
sake. For the Author's sake, because he hath
given his Service to the Church of England.
(which he had done many years sooner, but for
an invincible impediment, not unknown to your
Grace)

The Epistle Dedicatory.

Grace) and now doth with as much heartiness, chearfulness, and satisfaction, as ever man did, for which there are some that do stomach him the more, because a doubting, trembling, scrupulous Conformist, is in their apprehension the honestest man that conforms, and in the most safe and salvable condition, though the Spirit of God speaking by St Paul hath told us, That whatsoever is not of faith is sin; and that he that doubteth is damned if he eat.

No less distasteful to many prejudiced and malecontented people is the Argument of the latter part of this Book: For they cannot endure to hear that Fact called a horrid and bloody Murther, which they have look'd upon as a gallant and heroick Enterprize; not unlike the signal Achievements of Jael against Sisera, Ehud against Eglon, recorded in the Book of Judges. I doubt too many had rather that Act had been made a Precedent, than the Actors thereof an Example. My Lord, If I fly not to your Grace's Protection, men of that ill Character will be ready to swallow me up quick, whilst their rage is kindled against me. For having preached but one 30th. day of January upon the subject of this Book, I know to my sorrow, what it, and a few more expressions of my Conformity cost me; and
how

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how I was made to run the Gauntlet for it, and from some men could have no quarter. But my comfort is, that I have fully satisfied my own Conscience in this that I have written, and if your Grace's Judgment shall be also satisfied therewith, I shall value it more, than I shall regard the censure and clamor of a thousand disaffected persons, who for want of Capacity, Learning, and Integrity, are not the thousandth part so able to make a judgment of it. I therefore beseech your Grace, to take both it and its Author under your wing, at least the Author for his good and loyal Intentions, which may extend far towards the covering of his weaknesses, who will easily own that he hath nothing to be proud of (if he may be proud of any thing) but that he had the honour to have been sometime of the same University and Colledge with your Grace, and admitted thereinto upon your Grace's personal Examination and Allowance. I write not this as presuming to invite your Grace to water what you have planted, but only to make a hedge about it, that no wild Creatures may root it up. Now that he whose right hand hath fixed your Grace in that place of Eminency, where you now shine as a Star of the first Magnitude, would always hold your Grace as a Star in his own right hand, and
make

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*make you as hitherto your Grace has been, a
burning and shining Light, shining forth
more and more like the Sun towards the perfect
day, is the hearty Prayer of*

Your Grace's

Most Devoted Orator,

Humble Servant,

and

Obedient Son,

S. ROLLS.

To the Right Honourable
Henry Earl of Arlington,
Lord Chamberlain
Of His Majesty's Household, and one of His
Majesties most Honorable Privy-Council, &c.

S. R.

Humbly dedicateth the ensuing Treatise;
wishing it may prove in any measure
worthy of your Lordships acceptance.

May it please your Lordship:

HAVING lately received more im-
mediately from your Lordships
hand an Honour too big for me
to mention in print, I hold it
my bounden duty thankfully to ac-
knowledge it. Were I able to write
any thing that might be worth your
Lordships reading (which I can scarce
presume to think) that were one pro-
per way of doing it: for the Calves of
Mens Lips are as usual a Thank-offer-
ing as any, and the Calves or Sacrifi-
ces of their Pens, are almost the same
G 5 thing:

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*thing : For Pens are a sort of Lips
wherewith men speak so loud that the
world may hear them. My Lord,
within the compass of this Book I
have endeavored to express my hearty
Loyalty first to the King of Kings, in
speaking highly and honourably of his
Vicegerent upon Earth, which is Con-
science; and nextly to my good Lord
and Master, the King of England, by
attempting to make the sin of Regi-
cide as odious in the eyes of all men,
as it is in its own nature, that all Af-
ter-ages may fear and dread it next
to the sin against the Holy Ghost, and
for ought I know, it is a sin of the se-
cond Magnitude, and next to that.
Now if every man shall become so per-
swaded, surely for time to come, men
will as soon throw themselves into cal-
drons of scalding Oyls, or into hot burn-
ing Furnaces, as either directly or
indirectly contribute to the death of
their King; whereas whilst men make
nothing of that first fact, what do they
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Reader,

I See no necessity of pre-advertising thee touching any more than one thing in this Book, viz. the Title if it, Loyalty and Peace, which I have given it, because I am well assured, that if men shall revere Conscience, more than they regard Interest, and entertain those dreadful apprehensions of the Sinfulness of murdering Kings, which this Treatise doth bespeak, and receive the due impression of some other passages therein contained, as soon may a Camel go through the eye of a Needle, as they find in their hearts to be disloyal or unpeaceable.



I Sam. Chap. XXIV. Verse 5.

And it came to pass afterwards, that David's heart smote him ; because he had cut off Saul's Skirt.

Y Text is part of a Remarkable Story , referring to *David* and *Saul*. *Saul* had been possesst with an Implacable Spirit of Envy (such as no Harp could lay) from the time that the Women sang in their Dances , *Saul has slain his thousands , and David his ten thousands*. Little did those sweet Singers of *Israel* , if they may be so called, think, how great a Discord that their praising Melody , which gave the preference to *David* , a Son and Subject , above *Saul* , his Father and Sovereign , would make in the heart of *Saul* against *David* ; in so much that ever after he hunted him *like a Partridge upon the Mountains*. Think-

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ing no sacrifice great enough , to expiate for that his *Crimen Alienum* , or other folks fault , in over-commending him ; but the life and heart-blood of him that was so commended : Which sheweth us, that *Solomon* spoke like an Oracle , when he said, *Who can stand before Envy ?*

Saul returning from following the Philistins (I had almost said like a Lyon , that hath tasted blood and thirsts for more) was told that *David* was in the Wilderness of *En-gedi*, ver. 1. *Forthwith he took three thousand chosen men out of all Israel , and went to seek David and his men upon the Rocks of the Wild Goats.* No Rock , but he who is called the *Rock of Ages* , was sufficient for *David*'s security , or can be for ours. In ver. 3. it is said , that *Saul came to the Sheep-Cotes by the way* ; thinking possibly that the Shepherds, of whose Profession *David* formerly was, could inform concerning him ; where , saith the Text , *Was a Cave , which Saul went into, to cover his feet.* It followeth , that *David and his men remained in the sides of that Cave* ; and no wonder, because as *Strabo* tells us , there were some *Spelunca* or Caves , especially towards *Arabia* and *Iturea*, where, in time of War , Shepherds hid themselves and their flocks ; yea where-
unto

unto all the Inhabitants of Villages and small Cities ; did repair for shelter ; some of them being able to contain at once four thousand men. 2 The Mouths of some of those Caves were so small and full of Windings, that no man at his Entrance could espy those that were within ; but those that were within could espy those that were entering : so that *David* and his men saw *Saul* coming, but he saw not them ; whereupon he went on securely , little suspecting that he was within one step of death ; if God and *David* had so pleased. And possibly he laid by his uppermost Garment, the Skirt whereof *David* was said to have cut off, and might be more prone to do, when it was separated from that sacred Body to which it did belong , than when Gods Anointed had it on ; to whose holy Anointing *David* had special regard, though his followers had none ; Witness their words, ver. 4. *And the men of David said unto him, Behold the day of which the Lord said unto thee, I will deliver thine Enemy into thine hands ; that thou mayest do to him as it shall seem good to thee: meaning that thou mayest kill him.* Counsel worthy of such Counsellors as they , who were a parcel of Runnagates, men in debt, and in distress,

and of desperate fortunes; who looked for nothing but a Jail or worse; if *Saul* should live to be reconciled to *David*. Men likely enough to have been *Saul's* Executioners; if *David* had but said the word, Strike off his Head; or, Cut his Throat: For of that sort of men I presume are all the Executioners of Horrid and Bloody Edicts. But as bad and faithless men as they were, they presume not to give such counsel, as that, without a religious pretext and colour for what they said. They countenanced this their sanguinary Advice with three specious things, viz. *Divine Prophecy, Promise, and Providence*. For, say they, *Behold the day of which the Lord said unto thee, Behold I will deliver thine Enemy into thine hand*. Which words seem to refer to some *Prophecy* and *Promise* of that Nature, which God had made, to *David*, by the mouth of *Nathan, Gad, or Samuel*; though there be no such *Prophecy* or *Promise* recorded in *Scripture*; which causeth some to think that *Providence* was the onely Argument which *David's* Ragged Regiment and Outlawed Crew of Desperadoes made use of, to stir him up to take away the life of *Saul*. And then they read the words thus, Behold the Day of which the Lord saith unto

unto thee ; putting in the *Present Tense per Enallegen temporis* , for the *Præterperfect* : Carrying the sense thus , Behold this is the day in which the Lord by the plain voice of a signal *Providence* , hath told thee , that he hath put King *Saul* into thine hand , to do with him what seems good in thine Eyes. Having now so tempting and charming a *Providence* before thee , be not thou like the Deaf Adder , that hearkeneth not to the voice of the Charmer , though he charm ever so sweetly. Yea methinks I hear some of them say unto *David* , as the King of *Israel* said unto *Elisha* , concerning those Enemies whom he had led blind-fold into *Samaria* , *My Father shall I smite ? shall I smite ?* Or as he said , *Let me smite but once , and I will not smite again.* Behold a Price is put into the hand of a Fool , if he have not the heart to improve it.

So plain and powerful was the Argument taken from *Providence* , always amongst those , whose Fingers itched to be doing , and whose mouths watered at that , for which they had no better Arguments. The force and stress of which Argument lies here , *What may be done , may be done.* That is , what may be done *de facto* , may be done

de jure; or whatsoever God makes possible by an unusual series of Providence (as is the cutting off a Kings Head when it is once brought to the Block) is thereby intimated to be *lawful*, yea *necessary* and our *duty*. So opportunity makes a Thief, and a good opportunity makes it a Judges Duty to condemn him, and an Executioners to put him to death. But possibly these Subterranean or Cave Councillors of *Davids* , that they might have three strings to their Bow; did really intend to urge also a *Prophecy*, and *Promise* from God in the Case (whether there were any or no) a Practice usual in more modern Ages, to encourage Rebellion by some pretended Prophecy of success in the Case. When men that intend Rebellion, can alledge signal Providences pursuant of Prophecies, and Promises for their purpose, as also *Prophecies*, foretelling those things, which a train of successful providences seem to make way for; they seem then to sail before Wind and Tide, doubt not but to get safely, yea, and honestly too, into the harbour of their designs, and to get Complices enough to bear them company.

But since that providence hath tackt about like the Wind (though it held for above

bove twenty years in one Corner) I do imagine that the English Logicians (who formerly made more use of that Topick than of any other , could wish that an *Index Expurgatorius* might pass upon it. Because that Wind , which for so many years past was with and for them, is now as much against them. And if they will still hold that old Argument taken from Providence, it is to be hoped it will make them good and loyal Subjects ; because as miraculous a series of Providence as any they could ever pretend to , hath given us the happy Restauration of His Majesty , and firmly settled him upon his Throne.

But to proceed , The Counsell of *David's* followers seemed to make some Impression upon him , and that something did stick ; (as they say there will, when men do *fortior calumniari*) for that he adventured to cut off *Saul's Skirt* : as who should say he would try whether the Ice would bear him, before he would venture to walk or slide upon it ; but finding it to Give , Thaw , or Crack under him, I mean his Heart to fail him when he had done no more but so , he presently started back , his Conscience recoiled upon him , and gave occasion to the words of my Text, *And Da-*

vids *Heart smote him because he had cut off Saul's Skirt.*

Which words do plainly consist of three general parts , viz. first of all *David smitten* , secondly, that which smote him, viz. *his Heart* ; thirdly, the reason why his Heart smote him , because he *cut off Saul's Skirt.*

I shall spend but a few words to explain the several parts of the Text. By *Dauids Heart* we are to understand his *Conscience*, for so some Interpreters render it, *Redarguit Davidem Conscientia sua*. Now the *Conscience* of Man may well be called his *Heart* , because Naturallists give this account of the Heart of Man ; that it is , *Primum vivens ultimus moriens* : so is the *Conscience* of Man , viz. The first thing that lives, when man begins the *Life of Religion*, and the last thing that dies, when a man forsakes that *Life* ; for whilst a man has one spark of Religion abiding in him , it remains in his *Conscience*. As for the word *smote him*, though it be a *Metaphor*, I hope it may be pardoned , because I find few Texts of Scripture in which is no *Metaphor* ; and the sense of it is plainly this , That *Dauids Heart* did rebuke him. As for the last words , *because he cut off Saul's Skirt* ;

Skirt; they are so plain nothing can make them plainer.

It is most easie to espy, in these words thus divided and explained, these Four Propositions, *viz.* First of all, *That Conscience is a Smiter, or one that will smite men first or last, if they give occasion.* Secondly, *That Conscience doth smite men sometimes for sins comparatively small, as Davids Heart did for cutting off but Saul's Skirt.* Thirdly, *That the same Conscience hath and doth sometimes smite men for small sins, which for a time hath given them no rebuke for much greater transgressions;* witness the Heart of David, which for a considerable time rebuked him not for his Adultery with *Bathsheba*, nor yet for murdering her innocent Husband *Uriah*, and yet now smote him for but cutting off of the Lap of *Sauls Skirt.* Fourthly, *That Affronts and Injuries offered to Superiours are sins, for which Conscience is as apt to smite men, as for most that are committed against either Table.* Of which I shall give an account hereafter.

But now for the first of these Propositions, It may take in the two Later, to which I shall therefore apply my self; and in pursuance of it, inquire into Nine Particulars (or whether I should rather call them *Generals*, I am not as yet satisfied)

fied) viz. *Quid*, Or what is Conscience; secondly, *Quod*, the in^t, Or that Conscience is a smiter; Thirdly, *Propter quod*, Or for what it is that Conscience useth to smite: Fourthly, *Quos*, Or who they are that Conscience takes the boldness, or useth to smite: Fifthly, *Quibus*, Or by what means and methods Conscience is stirr'd up to smite men: Sixthly, *Quando*, When and at what seasons Conscience useth to smite: Seventhly, *Quamdiu*, How long Conscience holds on Chiding: Eighthly, *Quomodo*, How or in what manner Conscience useth to smite: Ninthly, *Quare*, Why or by what Authority Conscience presumes to smite.

Now these Nine Particulars will take up all we mean to say upon the Doctrinal part of this Text, which we intend to finish in a short Application. We begin with the first of these, namely the *Quid*, or to shew what Conscience is. Conscience is well defined by *Amesius*, to be *Judicium Hominis de semetipso prout subjecitur Judicio Dei*. That is the Judgment of a Man concerning himself, as it is subjected to the Judgment of God, *Isa. 5. 3. 1 Corinth. 11. 31*. But more plainly Conscience is, that which excuseth when we do well; condemneth us when we do ill: *If our Hearts condemn us*, saith the Apostle,

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file, &c. Commendeth us when we do well; Confounds us, or rather puts us to shame and confusion of Face, when we leave undone the things we ought to do, or do the things we ought to leave undone; and on the other hand comforts us, and fills us with joy, when we leave undone what we ought to leave undone, and do the things which we ought to do, and as we ought to do them. Hence those words of the Apostle, *2 Corinth. 1. 12. For our Rejoycing is this, The testimony of our Conscience; that in godly sincerity we have had our conversation in the world, &c.*

Conscience is a Court set up by God in every mans Breast, and hath a three-fold Office assign'd it, *viz.* That of a *Plaintiff or Accuser*; Secondly, *Of a Witness or Evidence*; Thirdly, *Of a Judge*; for Conscience is all these in one. If any man put the Question, *What is Conscience?* as *Pilate* of old, *What is Truth?* Methinks I see Conscience it self stand ready to answer him: Knowest not thou who, and what I *Conscience* am, whence I come, and whether I would? Art thou so much a stranger at home, so much a stranger to thy self, of whom I am part? I am nearer to thee than he or she that is *Flesh* of thy *Flesh* and *Bone* of thy

thy Bone ; than the Husband or Wife of thy Bosome : I was brought up with thee in thy Nonage , and was thy Bosome Companion from the time thou didst first know thy right hand from thy left ; I have been with thee early and late , talked with thee many an hour in thy Bed , and in the still and dead of the night ; I have kept thee waking many an hour when thou wouldst fain have slept , calling thy sins to remembrance , and setting them in order before thee : Many a time have I made thee *blush* , many a time have I made thee *cry* , and water thy Couch with thy *tears* ; sometimes have I made thee quake and tremble , and make thy very Bed to shake under thee ; And knowest thou me not all this while ? Other times have I spoken good and comfortable words to thee ; come to thee with an Olive Branch of Peace in my Mouth , and said to thee in Gods Name , whose vicegerent I am , *Well done good and faithful Servant* : Or as the Angel of God said to *Cornelius* in a Vision , *Acts 10. 4.* *Thy Prayers and thy Alms are come up for a Memorial before God* ; or as the words are *Eccles. 9. 7.* *Go thy way , eat thy Bread with joy , and drink thy Wine with a merry heart , for God now accepteth thy Works.* Some-
times

times have I made thee a *Feast of Fat Things*; and of *Wines refined on the Lees*; for a good Conscience, thou knowest is a continual Feast; of *Fat Things full of Marrow*, of *Wines on the Lees well refined*. Hence forward ask no body but thy self who I am; Who should know the things of a Man, but the Spirit of Man which is in him? as the Apostle speaks. And surely among the things of a Man, I Conscience am the greatest; I am that Spirit of Man, which Solomon calleth the *Candle of the Lord*, *Searching all the inward parts of the Belly*: I am that great thing which some have called a god; for it is an old saying, *θεός αὐτὸν ἡ ἀνθρώπων συνείδησις*. Though indeed I am but Gods Vice Roy, or one of those that are called gods. In a word, I'll say no more what I am, for I am so inconsiderable when my Saviour is but once mentioned, that I am not worthy speaking of; yet I am not just nothing at all: therefore let him that was writing of me, proceed and tell you how it doth appear that I am that Smiter, that Reprover, that *Bonarges*, that Son of Thunder, that he has told you I am; and that will bring him from the *Quid* to the *Quod*; which is the next thing to be spoke to.

Secondly,

Secondly, I am obliged in the next place to prove that which may as easily admit a proof as any thing, yea indeed needs no proof at all, *viz.* *That Conscience is a faculty in the Soul of Man, that will smite first or last if occasion be given.* I say it seems to need no proof, for what need is there for any man to prove by Reason and Arguments, that there is such a thing as the Gout, Stone, or Collick; or that these things are painful when they seize People violently: seeing the sense and woful experience of every man that has been under the smart discipline of all or any of these, assures him that so it is. What the Apostle saith of Afflictions, may be applied to the chastisings of Conscience: *If you are without Chastisement, whereof all are partakers, ye are Bastards and not Sons.* The Scripture saith, *That by the mouth of two or three witnesses, every word is confirmed.* We shall therefore alledge Three credible Witnesses, *viz.* *Scripture, Experience, and Sound Reason*; whereby *ex abundanti*, to establish the point in hand. It is none of the *ἀσυνήτῳ*, or things but once written in the Holy Scriptures; *That Conscience is a Smiter*: for this we find asserted over and over, both in the Old and New Testament;

ment: Witness first the famous instance of this truth, in the first *Adam*; *Gen. 3. v. 10.* And he said, *I heard thy voice in the Garden and I was afraid, because I was naked; and hid my self.* The meaning whereof is, That when *Adam* had eaten of the forbidden Fruit, his *Conscience* did forthwith fly or spit in his Face, and put him into a pannick fear, and to a woful shame; so that he could almost have buried himself alive, or gone down to Hell; could he there have been hid from the presence and displeasure of an angry God. Our next instance shall be in *Cain*. Did his *Conscience* smite him or did it not? Yea almost as mortally as he smote his Brother *Abel*; witness those words of his *Gen. 4. 13.* *And Cain said unto the Lord, My punishment is greater than I can bear; behold thou hast driven me out this day from the Face of the Earth, and from thy Face shall I be hid; and I shall be a Fugitive and a Vagabond in the Earth: and it shall come to pass that every one that findeth me shall slay me; v. 14.* See here the doleful Bodings of a guilty smiting Conscience.

The Third Witness that we shall call, shall be that passage in *Gen. 42. 21.* *And they (viz.) Joseph's Brethren) said one to another,*

other ; we are verily guilty concerning our Brother, in that we saw the anguish of his soul ; when he besought us and we would not hear ; therefore is this distress come upon us.

A Fourth instance would be one more than I promis'd , but you may have it in *Judges* 1. 7. And Adoni-Bezek said, three-score and ten Kings, having their Thumbs and their great Toes cut off, gathered meat under my Table ; As I have done, so God hath requited me.

Let the famous instance of *Judas* bring up the Rear, *Matth.* 27. 3. Then Judas, which had betrayed him (viz. our Saviour) when he saw that he was condemned, repented himself ; saying, I have sinned in that I have betrayed the innocent blood : And he cast down the pieces of Silver in the Temple, and went and hanged himself ; verse 4, 5. If Conscience had not smitten him so as it were with fiery Scorpions, surely his soul had not chosen strangling rather than life.

We have been already compassed about with a sufficient Cloud of Scriptural Witnesses. In the next place you may find those Witnesses backt with *Experience*, I mean the *Experience* not of one, but of all Ages ; which need not be pressed, but will come in, in the Quality of *Volunteers*,
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and offer its service to attest this truth: That there is a God, hath not more suffrages from the light of Nature, and common Experience of Mankind; then that there is a Smiter, or Reprover in every Mans Breast, called Conscience; I had almost said I appeal to every mans Conscience that there is a Reprover in his Breast, which when he *rusheth into Sin as the Horse into the Battle, and drinketh in Sin, as the Fish doth Water*; Curbs and checks him for so doing, tells him he ought not to mispend his precious time, to waste those golden sands of time, which once run out, can never be recalled: Tells him that he ought to mind the Errand for which God sent him into the World, *and set all men upon the face of the earth, viz. To seek after God, if haply they might feel after him, and find him*, Acts 17. v. 27. And tells him in case he doth otherwise, that he plays *Jonah*, who set sail for *Tarshish*, when God sent him to *Nineveh*; and may justly expect, that a storm of Divine Wrath will pursue him, that he shall be cast into the Deep, into the midst of the Seas; and all Gods Billows and Waves shall pass over him: as it is *Jonah* 2. 3. Tells him that sith he names the name of Christ, he should depart from all

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iniquity

iniquity; should deny all ungodliness and worldly lusts; live righteously, soberly, and godly, in the present world; and that tribulation and anguish shall be upon every soul that obeys not the truth: Upon the Christian first, and then upon the Heathen; for this is the condemnation, that light is come into the world; and men love darkness rather than light, because their deeds are evil.

Now I doubt not but every man is capable of this Appeal to himself or to his Conscience, or to that which the Quaker calls, *The Light within him*: Unless there be some few, that have served their Consciences, as desperate Persons sometimes do those Bayliffs and Serjeants which come to Arrest them in the Kings Name, viz. kill them out-right, which yet I think is hard to do by Conscience; for though some have laid their Consciences in Swanes and Trances, or cast them into a dead sleep, as did *Herod*, in reference to *Herodias*, with whom he lived in Incest; yet they do generally awake and come to themselves again, as appeareth by that famous instance of *Herod*, *Mark 6: 16.* of whom it is said, *When he heard of the fame of Christ, he said, It is John whom I beheaded, he is risen from the dead.*

Now

Now to *Scripture* and *Experience*; the two fore-cited witnesses; I shall add a third, viz. *Reason*: That three-fold Cord can surely never be broken: Hear then what *Reason* can say on the behalf of *Conscience*, it being a *Smiter*: I know, saith *Reason*, it must needs be so, because the frame and make of *Conscience* is such as it is; as well as I know that a keen Axe must needs be apt to cut, because it hath so sharp an Edge. *Conscience* is a *Natural Logician*, *Apta Natu*, that is, naturally fitted to frame *Syllogismes*; concerning which 'tis a constant and infallible Rule, *That the Conclusion doth alwayes follow the worse and weaker part of the Premises. Conclusio semper sequitur partem deteriore*m. If then *Conscience* shall thus syllogize (as often it doth) he that believeth not in the Lord Jesus Christ, he that loveth not Jesus Christ sincerely and superlatively, he that forsaketh not his Sins, he that mortifieth not the Flesh, with the Lusts and Affections thereof, is condemned already, and the wrath of God abideth upon him; and then assumes or takes this for his minor Proposition: But thou, O my Soul, believest not, thou lovest not the Lord Jesus Christ, thou hast not forsaken thy Sins, &c. Then will it

be forced to fall foul upon a Man, with this Conclusion, *Ergo* or *therefore*, thou art condemned already, and the wrath of God abideth on thee.

I hope by this time, I have proved the *in* or *Quod sit*, beyond all exception (*viz.*) that *Conscience* is a *Smiter*, &c. Which brings me to the third particular, namely, to the *Propter quod*, or to shew what it is that *Conscience* doth usually *smite* men for. In general it is for sin, real or supposed, most commonly real. Now though *Conscience* doth many times wink at small faults (though not alwayes so neither) give me leave to tell you, it seldome forbears to smite for great and crying Abominations, such are, first of all sins committed against the clear Light of Nature, as well as of Scripture; such as the Apostle chargeth them with *Rom: i. v. 32.* *Who knowing the Judgment of God, that they who commit such things are worthy of death; not onely do the same, but have pleasure in them that do them.* When Christians venture to do those things, which even Heathens know ought not to be done, namely, to do to others what they would not others should do unto them; to tell pernicious Lies, to perjure, or suborn Perjury, to the undoing of others, &c. When
Consci-

Conscience smites for such faults as those, will it not fetch blood, and make every blow it gives pierce to the very heart? Secondly, *Those sins whereto even corrupted Nature seems to have an antipathy, aversion and abhorrence*, as namely, Horrid ingratitude towards our best Friends, recompencing Evil for Good; as Christ saith, *I have done many good works among you, for which of these do you go about to stone me?* John 10. 32. Cruelty to a mans own Flesh and Blood, as in Parents towards Children, and Children towards Parents, and in other near Relations one towards another; Incest and the like: When *Conscience* smites such Fools as these, doth it not, as it were *Bray them in a Morter*, break them upon the Wheel, put them upon a Rack, give no Quarter, and Refuse to spare for their much crying.

Thirdly, *Those sins which are at once a manifest breach of both the Tables of Gods Law, and which either smite at men, as it were through the Loyns of God Almighty, or at God Almighty through the Loyns of Men:* As for Example, When Jezebel suborned Witnesses to forswear themselves against *Naboth*, that she might take away his Life; What was that but a smiting of *Naboth*,
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through the Loyns of God Almighty : And on the other hand, When wicked men have persecuted the Saints and Servants of God, spilt their Blood as Water upon the Ground, because they bore the Image of their Heavenly Father; What was that but to smite at God himself, through the Loyns of Men? To crucifie our Saviour again in *Effigie*, and to tell the World, (but that *the Heaven of Heavens must contain him till the restitution of all things*) they would have done as much to him, as they have done to his Friends and Followers. Now *Conscience* is wont to stir up all its Wrath as it were, to heat the Furnace of its Indignation seven times hotter than at other times, when such Miscreants as these are to be cast into it.

Fourthly, *Those sins which are of dreadful and horred consequence, which produce amazing and astonishing evil Effects; which imbrew Nations in Blood, and pluck down Divine Vengeance upon Cities and Kingdoms; like the sins of Sodom and Gomorrah, which laid those famous Cities all in Ashes; or like Davids numbring the People, which exposed his Subjects to one of three dreadful Judgments (choose him whether) the least whereof was the Plague or Pestilence;*
when

when Conscience smites for such things as these it even breaks Mens Bones, it makes them *Magor Missabibs*, that is Terrors round about to themselves, ready to fall into the jaws of despair, cursing the day of their birth; as did *Job*, Chap. *I. 3.* upon an other account, and crying out as he *v. 11.* *Why died I not from the Womb? Why did I not give up the Ghost when I came out of the Belly?* When Conscience smites at this rate, ah who can live?

But Fifthly and lastly (to name no more) *Presumptuous sins*, that is, sins committed against full Conviction of their real and hainous sinfulness against the Lord; Out-cries of Christian Friends, Holy Ministers, and above all, of Mens own Consciences, crying out and saying, *O do not this abominable thing which the Soul of God hateth; sins against fairest warnings, given by Gods signal judgments, executed upon sinners of the like nature, sins against the highest obligations of stupendious mercies, obliging men to the contrary; and aggravated by whatsoever other circumstances do aggravate the sins of men:* These presumptuous sins (as I call them) do make the Consciences of Men to smite, till even themselves be sick with smiting; and to give the sinner little or no rest day or night, causing him to cry out,

My wounds stink and are corrupt, because of my foolishness; there is no soundness in my flesh because of my sin; mine iniquities are gone over my Head, and are a burthen too heavy for me to bear, &c.

Now that Conscience should smite for such crying and crimson sins as these is no wonder; but what should be the meaning of its smiting men, as now and then it doth, for small sins, for moles in their eyes, for meer Peccadillo's: When poor *Jonathans* have tasted but a little Honey upon the tip of their Staves, Why must they die for so doing? Why must *Uzza's* Hand wither but for stretching it forth, and that with a good intention to stay Gods tottering Ark? Why must the Carcasses of so many *Beth-shemites* fall, onely for the most pardonable curiositie, as it may seem, viz. To look into Gods Ark, whilst the Angels of God themselves are allowed *ναεαυόμεν*, that is, *to stoop down and to pry into Gods Misteries*? Why must David lose so great a number of his innocent Subjects, as he call'd them, *when he said, What have these Sheep done?* onely because their King and Shepherd made bold to number them: Why since it is a *Maxim* in the Laws of England. *Lex non curat de minimis.* The Law troubles

troubles not it self with trivial fautes. I say; Why doth the All-merciful God either smite himself, or suffer *Conscience* to smite at so great a rate for small Transgressions; for cutting off not the Head of a King, but meerly the Skirt of his Garment? Or how can he be said to be merciful that does so? Hath he appointed *Conscience* not onely not to swallow Camels, but to strain at Gnats? Is this the manner of Men that are accounted mild and merciful?

Ans. It were easie for me to take up the Authors of this objection very short, saying no more than this: *Who art thou O man that repliest against God?* But since it may easily be done, I shall gratifie them with a more full and satisfactory account of this matter, in the following Particulars: First of all, *God doth therefore punish small sins (such I mean in comparison of others) with great temporal Punishments, and set Conscience at work sometimes to chide for them at a great rate, to let the World know there is no sin small absolutely but comparatively.* For as much as every sin is committed against God, who is infinitely good; and in that respect is *Ex parte objecti*, a kind of infinite evil. As there is no wilful Murther, Incest, Sodomy, Bestiality, Perjury, or
Treason,

Treason, which is in it self a small crime; yet there are some of all these which are small in comparison of other faults of the same denomination, clothed with much more aggravating circumstances, as we commonly hear of *Petty Treason*, in opposition to *High Treason*; so there are *Petty Thefts*, *Petty Oaths*, of which sins we may say, as of the Stars of Heaven, *viz.* They are all great, though not all of the same magnitude; for all Stars are not Stars of the first magnitude. Secondly, *God sometimes smites severely, both by himself and by Conscience (his Vice-Roy) for small sins, to let men know that the smallest sins deserve, though not the greatest of eternal, yet of temporal Punishments; though not the worst place in Hell, yet the worst condition can be undergone in this World: else God had been unrighteous, in laying what he did lay upon Job; whose sins were meer Motes in comparison of the sins of many other Men, which were like Beams; and yet his Afflictions were like great Beams, whilst theirs were but little Motes or Atomes, dancing in the Sun. To punish any man one grain above his demerit, were one grain of Injustice, which is altogether incompatible with the Righteousness of God: Surely the greatest*
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of temporal Judgments are but *finite*; and therefore the least of sins being infinitely evil, *Ex parte objecti*, or as it is, against an *infinite* good, cannot but deserve it.

Thirdly, *Therefore doth God suffer men to be smitten at a very great rate, both by himself and their own Consciences, for small sins (which they use to call Zoar's, saying they are but little ones and their Souls shall live) to declare his infinite Purity and Holiness; as being so great a hater of all sin, that he cannot behold the least without indignation; as if the Apple of his Eyes were thereby touched: and a very Mote will disturb the Apple of ones Eye.*

Fourthly, *We may humbly conceive that God puts a Rod into the hands of Conscience, in order to its smiting men for small sins, for this merciful end, that he may restrain them from committing greater. He whose Heart smote him for cutting off but Sauls Skirt, was in no danger of ever adventuring to cut off his Head.*

Lastly, *God may be supposed by Conscience and by himself, to smite men severely for small sins, that thereby he may make other men afraid of committing greater; and they who have committed greater to quake and tremble, when they consider what God hath done by those*

those whose sins were far less than theirs; saying within themselves, If this be done to the green Tree, what shall be done to the dry? And if Judgment thus begin, as it were, at the House of God, where shall the wicked and ungodly appear?

I hope by this time my Reader is satisfied in the reasons why God doth sometimes punish sins comparatively but small, with great and grievous Judgments, and particularly with sharp stings and reflections of *Conscience*.

If any shall now ask me why God doth not punish all sins alike in this Life, and every small transgression as severely as he did *Dauids* numbering the People? I might answer him by another Question, namely, Why do not Magistrates put to death all condemned Persons, Thieves and others; but onely transport some, whilst they hang others; and while some are executed within a day or two, give others a long reprieve, and possibly in conclusion a pardon? Is there any Injustice in so doing? No surely, for Justice and Mercy do not interfere, but do sweetly accord and kiss each other. whilst Mercy keeps within its *Zodiack* (to allude to the motion of the Sun) though it hath an *Ecliptick Line*, which seems not

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so strait, yet it trespasseth not upon the Bounds or Land-marks of Justice : Take it in the case of *Pharoah*, who though he hanged his *Baker*, that had displeased him, was not unjust, though his pleasure was to lift up the Head of his *Butler*, who possibly was in the same Transgression, as well as in the same Prison with him; not upon the Gallows, as he did the *Baker*, but in the Preferments of his Court. A Creditor, who having two Debtors, shall cast one of them into Prison, who all things considered, deserves to be so dealt with; is not unjust, though at the same time he shall freely forgive the other as great or greater a Debt.

It is highly comporting with Wisdom and the ends of Government, that small sins be sometimes severely punished (especially at the first making Laws) to give them sanction : So God commanded him to be stoned to death, who gathered sticks upon the Sabbath day; and sent fire from Heaven to consume Nadab and Abihu, for offering strange fire.

And it is on the other hand as agreeable to Wisdom and other Perfections, that small faults should generally receive but small punishments, that the work and reward,

ward, as well bad as good, should bear a manifest proportion each to other.

But the Riddle of all Riddles, as it may seem to some, is, that which is yet behind, namely, *Why doth God sometimes suffer the Consciences of men to be quiet and not to smite them at all after they have sinned with a very high hand, when yet the Consciences of those very men are sometimes appointed by God to fall foul upon them, for meer Peccadillo's?* Of which we have an instance in *David*, whose Heart smote him, not for the matter of *Bathsheba* and *Uriah* (the two grand faults of his Life, and greatest blots in all his Escutcheon), till such time as *Nathan* the Prophet came to him, which was supposed to have been one or more years afterwards, and opened his Eyes with the Eye-salve of a Parable; whereby he was honestly *trappan'd* (if I may so say) into giving sentence against himself. There are principally two reasons which offer themselves to satisfy us in this point, One taken from the Nature of great Sins, the other from the Justice and Wisdom of God. That from great Sins is this, *'Tis the nature and property of great sins, to stun and stupify the Consciences of Men, and as it were to strike them dead; as a great blow is apt to*

put a man past all feeling for the present : to deliver him up to an Apoplexy, whilst a small blow shall fill him with Smart and Pain. 'Tis commonly and truly said, *Leves loquuntur cura Ingentes stupent.* And it is most certain, that all things which are a great deal too big and too much for us, do naturally astonish and confound us, be they Grievs or Joyes, Fears or Hopes, Good or Evil Things; which sutes well with what Naturalists say, viz. that *Nimium sensibile ledit sensorium.* As we see too much Light dazzles and blinds our Eyes (though nothing so pleasing to the Eyes as that measure of Light which they can bear) and too much noise (though moderate sounds, are the musick of the ear) do not please but deafen us; so it fareth with Men, who by great sins have *stun'd* their Consciences, and lain them as it were sprauling at their feet; they become as the Apostle calls it, *Past feeling*; *Ephes. 4. 19.* ἀπαγεκότης, or as it is expressed, *1 Tim. 4. 2.* καυτελασμένοι; that is, *having their Consciences seared with a hot Iron. Conscientias Caeterio resectas*, like Veins or Arteries burnt in two; which have no more sense or perception of any thing.

Secondly, The reason of this, which is taken

taken from the Justice of God ; may be thus explained, *'Tis a righteous thing with God, when Men have slighted the frequent and earnest motions of their Consciences, to give them up to their own hearts lusts ; and to say unto Conscience, Let them alone, as of old concerning Ephraim ; Ephraim is joyned to Idols, let him alone : Hosea 4. 17. or as it is in the 14 of that Chap. I will not punish your Daughters when they commit Whoredom, nor your Spones when they commit Adultery, &c. Or as it is in Psal. 11. v. 11, 12. But my People would not hearken to my voice, and Israel would have none of me ; so I gave them up to their own hearts lust, and they walked in their own counsels, &c. This is now the sorest of all Punishments in this Life. As nothing afflicts a Sick Man so much as to hear his Physician say, Let him eat and drink what he will, rise and go abroad when and where he will ; for then he concludes that he has given him over, and looks upon him as past all cure ; and so an *euthanasia*, or pleasant Passage out of the World, is all he aims at for him.*

I forbear to add a third reason, *viz.* That Conscience, when it has found it self often repulsed, resisted and baffled, begins to grow weary of admonishing, takes pet, and
saith

said in effect, as the words are, Rev. 22. 11. He that is unjust, let him be unjust still; and he that is filthy, let him be filthy still; or as God himself, Isaiah 1. 5. Why should you be stricken any more, you will revolt more and more; the whole Head is sick, and the whole Heart is faint, &c.

Let us now pass to the fourth thing, which I propounded to speak of; *v.z. The Quos, or who they are that Conscience doth make bold to smite.* In answer to that let me tell you, 'Tis much easier to declare whom Conscience hath presumed to smite, than whom it hath not; for doubtless Conscience fears the Face of no man: it hath smitten as *Wise Men* as ever were in the World, not doubting to make good its charge against them: witness *Solomon* for one, if the Book of *Ecclesiastes* be his recantation, as it is generally supposed to be. It hath smitten as valiant Men and brave Souldiers as ever drew a Sword; witness *David*, who feared not the Face of *Goliath*, that mighty amazing Gyant; he who undauntedly encountered with a *Lion and a Bear*; and gave *Saul*, as a Dowry for his Daughter, *two hundred Foreskins of the Philistines*, slain by his hand; yet was his Conscience too much and too

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hard for him, humbled him, laid him grovelling in the Dust at its pleasure.

Nay it hath smitten *as great, rich, and powerful men*, as most ever were; witness *David*, aforesaid, and his Son *Solomon*, a greater Prince than he, both in Wisdom and Wealth; both of which Conscience, when time was, made to lay *their mouths in the dust, if there might be hope*: Did not Conscience make its part good with *Nebuchadnezzar*, though a kind of Universal Monarch; *Dan. 3. 4. c.* As also with *Belshazar* spoken of, *Dan. 5. 6.* In these words, *Then the Kings Countenance was changed, and his Thoughts troubled him, so that the Joynts of his Loins were loosned, and his Knees smote one against another*; namely, when he saw the hand-writting upon the Wall, *Thou art weighed and found too light.* And so I have dispatched the fourth thing, or the *Quos*, shewing whom Conscience makes bold to smite, *viz.* As well High as Low, Rich as Poor, Wise as Foolish, Learned as Unlearned, Princes as People, Men that have the fairest forms of Godli- as well as those that are openly Pro- phane; for Conscience is no Child or Cow- ard, to fear Masks and Vizards: and no Changling to be taken with Painted Faces
and

and Artificial Beauties. The next or fifth Head to be spoken too, is the *Quibus*; or by what things Conscience is ordinarily stirr'd up to smite and chide; and some of them are as follow, *viz.* By the Word of God Read or powerfully Preached: which is the reason why some Persons, conscious to themselves of great sins wherein they lived, have studiously refrained coming to Church, lest they should meet with rebukes; and others have as generally abstained from Reading the Holy Scriptures, lest they should find the Word of God to be quick and powerful, and sharper than a two-edged Sword, and a discernor of the Thoughts and Intents of the Heart: Saint *Austin* Reading the Holy Scriptures, was smitten to the purpose, with that Text, *Rom. 13. 13. Let us walk Honestly as in the day, not in Rioting and Drunkenness, not in Chambering and Wantonness, &c.* Secondly, Conscience is sometimes set to work or set a work by the private admonition of some faithful friend, Minister, or other good Christian: So *David's* sleepy Conscience was roused and awakened by the Prophet *Nathan*, his convincing Parable of the Ewe-Lamb, &c. Hence that Expression of the Holy *Psalmist*, *Psal. 141. 5. Let the righteous smite me, it*

shall be a kindness; and let him reprove me, it shall be an excellent Oyl, which shall not break my Head: That is, by the figure *Meiosis*, which shall prove sanative and healing to me; meaning that the wholesome reproofs of a faithful friend, like those Medicines, which take off the stagnation of Blood and Spirits in the Veins and Arteries of Men; and do put them into a free motion and equal circulation, would as it were ferment his Conscience; and by so doing, cause it to do him a kindness. Thirdly, Gods chastisements upon men, set their Consciences a smiting. For when God smites, Conscience though it lay still before, is apt to smite too; as we see in the case of *Josephs* Brethren, who when he ruffled with them, and swore by the Life of *Pharaoh* they were spies, which might make them to expect to be used accordingly; then, and not till then, they said one to another, *We are verily guilty concerning our Brother, in that we saw the anguish of his Soul, and we would not hear; therefore this distress is come upon us.* In the 33. Chap. of *Job*, where we read of Gods chastning Man with Pain upon his Bed, and the multitude of his Bones with strong Pain; so that his Life abhorreth Bread, and his Soul dainty Meat;
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his Flesh is consumed away that it cannot be seen, and his Bones that were not seen, stick out; his Soul draws near to the Grave, and his Life to the Destroyers: then as it is v. 16. God openeth the Ears of Men, and sealeth their Instruction: then as it is v. 23. If there be a Messenger with him and an Interpreter, one among a thousand; which may partly be meant of an awakened Conscience, by what followeth, v. 27. To shew to man his uprightness, then God is gracious to him, &c. I say the 27. v. may countenance the referring those words to Conscience, or intending it by the Interpreter there spoken of; because the words there are, He looketh upon Men, and if any say, I have sinned and perverted that which is right, and it profited me not, he will deliver his Soul from going into the Pit, &c. Fourthly, Those Afflictions or Judgments, above all others, which carry the Mark and Signature of our Sins upon them, are most apt to set Conscience a smiting; for read, saith Conscience (as he that runs may) thy sin in thy suffering: behold the plain Prints and foot-steps of it, that Face doth not more exactly answer to Face in the Glass: So in the case of *Adoni-Bezek*,

*Judges the 1. 7. Threescore and ten Kings, saith he, having their thumbs and their great toes cut off, gathered their meat under my table: as I have done, so God hath requited me, &c. So said Samuel to Agag, 1 Sam. 15. 33. As thy Sword hath made Women Childless, so shall thy Mother be Childless among Women; and Samuel bowed Agag in pieces before the Lord, &c. Fifthly, When men are spectators of Gods smiting others for the same sins, which themselves have committed or do commit from day to day; but especially, if for less degrees of those sins than they themselves are guilty of; then and thereby is Conscience stirr'd up to smite them, and doth cause them thus to bethink themselves: If this be done to the green Tree, what shall be done to the dry? As for Example, If *Ananias* and *Saphira*, were struck dead upon the place for telling one lie a-piece, and that but a kind of equivocation neither: O what shall become of me, who have told thousands of lies, who walked in the way of lying, who compassed God about with lies and deceit; as it is, *Hosea 11. 12.* Who have pressed the God of Truth with Lies, as a Cart is pressed with Sheaves? What can I expect but that the Earth should open its Mouth,*

Mouth and swallow me quick? Now these are some of the things, for I shall not pretend to call all to remembrance, which do by the Conscience of Men, as the Mariners did by *Jonah*, when fast asleep in the Ship, viz. Call upon them and awaken them, which possibly would otherwise never awake, till they awoke in Hell, or till Men were drowned in the bottomless Pit of Destruction. Sixthly, the next thing we propose to query, is the *Quamdiu*, or how long the smitings of Conscience use to last; how long it useth to be before an angry Conscience become pacified; or before Conscience, having fallen out with Men about some great Sin or Sins, become Friends again and give over smitting? Now to that I reply, No Man can tell, there is no Prophet, that in this case knows how long; for it is with the smitings of Conscience, as it is with the Diseases of the Body: Sometimes it smites Men without any intermission, and that from day to day; and gives them no rest day or night: but makes them cry out with *David*, *Their iniquity is alwayes before them*; or say with *Job*, Chap. 7. v. 13, 14. *When I say my Bed shall comfort me, and my Couch shall ease my Complaint; then thou*

fcareft me with Dreams, and terrifieft me through Vifions : Whereas others again have their hot and cold fits, and between while their well days, wherein they are perfectly exempted from the fmitings of Confcience.

Again, Some have onely now and then a fit or two of Confcience and away, which fome call their *Dumps* or *Melancholies*, and they are up again; the fmiting of their Confciences is but as the *Morning Dew*, or *early Cloud*, which *foon paffeth away*; 'tis but *April* with them, now and then a *Cloud* and a *Shower*, and then the *Sun* prefently fhines out again; but in others the fmitings of Confcience, are like a *Burning Hectick Feaver*, never off them. Their Confciences feem to be implacable towards them, and and refolve to admit of no reconciliation; but to have War with *Amalek* for ever (if I may fo allude)

It were not hard, it may be, to tell you of thofe who have been under the fmitings of Confcience Seven years together, or more, I think that was Mrs. *Honywoods* Cafe; nay of thofe whose Confciences have killed them with fmiting, or provoked them fo long and fo lamentably, till they kill'd themfelves; or thofe
who

who leapt out of the flames of Conscience into those of Hell. Neither can I say that some who have been none of the greatest Sinners, nor guilty of any enormous Crimes, have been kept a great while in the Furnace of a smiting Conscience; witness Mrs. *Honywood* aforesaid: though ordinarily I do suppose it is the lot and portion of sinners of the first and second rate to be so served, rather than others; witness those words, *Psal. 39. 11. When thou with rebukes doth correct Man for Iniquity, thou makest his Beauty to consume away like a Moth*; as also those, *Ezek. 33. 10. Thus ye speak, saying, If our Transgressions and our Sins be upon us, and we pine away in them, how should we then live?* Now Lord what shall we say to this, if the smitings of Conscience be so sharp, and the shortest of them be so long, compared with Humane Corrections; and even to be given not onely to Children but Malefactors: who can bear them long, and who can live when God does this? unless supported by that Arm which keeps even the damned in Hell alive?

We now proceed to the Seventh query, viz. the *Quando*, namely, When or at what times it is, that Conscience doth use to smite in reference to sin? Whereto I reply,

ply , First of all, *Many times before a sin be committed*, when Men have as yet but sin in deliberation, or are but sitting upon it, like the Cockatrice upon her Eggs, having yet hatch'd nothing, and are yet but parling with the temptation, and listning to the tempter; even at that time of day, 'tis usual with Conscience to shoot off her *Warning Piece*, and to bid men take heed what they do; and to do by them as *Pilate's Wife* did by him; *Matth. 27. 19.* When he was *sate down on the Judgment Seat*, sent unto him, saying, *Have thou nothing to do with that Just Man*, for I have suffered many things concerning him in a Dream, &c.

Yea it is not unusual with Conscience to smite Men, meerly for parling with a temptation, or lending their ears more or less to the tempter; for looking at the bait, though they have not yet bit of it, much less received the hook into their mouths; and to give such Counsel as *Solomon* doth, *Proverbs 23. 31.* *Look not thou upon the Wine when it is Red, when it giveth its Colour in the Cup; when it moveth it self aright; at last it biteth like a Serpent, and stingeth like an Adder.* Thus in my Text, *Dauids Heart smote him*, but for entertaining a Thought of Killing *Saul* (as some suppose

suppose he had done) or but for lending an ear to those disloyal Miscreants, who counselled him so to do. Secondly, *Conscience sometimes smites men in αὐτοπόεα, in the very act of sin;* (as *Zimri* and *Cosby* were smitten by another hand.) Thus while *Belshazzar* was carousing in the Bowles of the Temple (which he ought not to have so prophaned) and probably debauched himself and his Nobles round about him; at that very instant appeared the Hand-writing upon the Wall, in these words, *Dan. 5. 55. Mene, Mene, Tekel, Upharsin, &c.* They are much mistaken, who think that great sins, if long adorning, are committed without great regret in the very doing of them: Conscience poures in Gall and Wormwood into the stollen Waters, which Men thought would have been altogether sweet; imbittering them in the very drinking of them, and mixeth *Colliquintida*, which is a very bitter thing, with that sweet bread, (as men hope to find it) which is eaten in secret. Conscience doth purposely disturb and interupt the pleasures of Sinners, and to spoil their sport, doth as it were set a Deaths-Head by them, in the midst of their Feasting and Jollity; and doth cast their Sins in their Dishes, whilst they are

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Feeding without fear; and maketh them now and then to drink a *Cup of Astonishment*, and of the *wrath of God*; and to be like the Citizens in *Esop's Fables*, Who whilst they were Banqueting, are represented scared and affrighted with the noise in the Key-hole, viz. Some Creditor or Creditors came to attaque them.

Now Conscience seems to do this, not onely to imbitter so much of the Sin as is past, but to make Men break off presently; like Souldiers quaffing and carousing, when they hear the Drums and Trumpets of an approaching Enemy. *David* seems to have been approaching towards the Murthering of *Saul*, when he cut off his Skirt: It seems to imply he was trying what his Conscience would permit him to do in that case; but blessed be God, he had such a check from his God and his Conscience, for doing but that, that he durst proceed no farther.

Thirdly, More especially Conscience is wont to smite Men after Sin committed, and that sometimes sooner, sometimes later: I had almost compared Conscience to an *Usurer*, who though he long forbear his Money, when it is well secured, as by Mortgage of House and Lands; yet at last will be sure to call for *Principal* and

and *Interest* , yea for *Use upon Use* ; or to take the forfeiture of what is engaged for his security.

There are particular reasons to be given why Conscience sometimes doth not smite men , either before the Commission of a great Sin , or in the very Act , nor yet presently after ; but as sure as Old Age will come upon Men (I mean the infirmities of it) if they live to be an hundred years Old ; so certainly Conscience will call Men to an account , if not in Health yet in Sicknes ; if not Living ; yet Dying , yea if not dying so soon as they are Dead ; for Conscience is a King that never Dies : as they say in Law , *Rex nunquam moritur* : And they will find it in the next World , by the Name and Nature of a *Never dying Worm* ; and as the Proverb saith , *Nullum Tempus occurrit Regi*. The Kings time never lapseth. Some Men will find that Conscience hath not lapsed or lost any time ; like Creditors that lose their Debts and Priviledge of suing for them , for want of demanding them within such a term of years ; but will recover all its Arrears. and sue them till they have paid the uttermost farthing.

We proceed in the next place to the
Eighth

Eighth Query, which I proposed to speak of, viz. The *Quomodo*, Or how and in what manner it is that Conscience doth use to smite men for sin? To which I answer, That Conscience doth it *πολυμαρῶς* & *πολυποῖαι*, at sundry times, and in divers manners. First of all, Conscience doth sometimes smite men very gently and easily; with light and soft touches, as Old Ely did his Sons; when he said, *It is not a good report which I hear of you my Sons; you make the Lords People to transgress*; 1 Sam. 2. Chap. v. 24. It whips Men sometimes as Mothers use to do their Infant Children, with a small Twig and a soft hand, whereby they are rather scared than hurt: and toucheth them with that tenderneſs as one would touch the Apple of ones Eye.

But Secondly, Conscience doth many times correct Men smartly, smite them severely, yet not so but that they are able to bear it; as you shall hear some Men say of those fits of the Stone, Gout, or Collick, which they have felt, that they were very painful indeed; but they thank God, such as they were able to undergo, and but able. It is as much as ever some Men can do to bear that burthen of a wounded Conscience; which lies upon them, but they make a
hard

hard shift, with much a-do rub along ; a little more weight added to them, would sink and over-whelm them: their Consciences correct them in full measure, though not above measure ; and this it may be is the case of thousands ; their Consciences give them their full Dose , though they destroy them not with a *Hypercatarrhis*.

Thirdly, *But some there are* (a case two frequent in the World, though not so common as the former) *whose Consciences do smite them ;* *Ad extremum viriuna* , and lay on upon them with all their might ; whose Conscience thunder and lighten upon them, as God did upon the *Israelites* , from Mount Sinai , *Exodus 19. 16.* And it came to pass that there were Thunder and Lightnings, and a thick Cloud upon the Mount , and the Voice of the Trumpet exceeding loud , so that all the People that was in the Camp trembled ; and Mount Sinai was altogether on a Smoak , because the Lord descended upon it in Fire ; the Smoak thereof ascended as the Smoak of a Furnace ; and the whole Mount quaked greatly : With such like Terroure , so far as a Creature may imitate his Creator ; so doth Conscience sometimes cloath it self : *If a Beast doth but touch the Mountain* (to allude to the passages at Mount Sinai) *it is stoned or*
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struck through with a Dart, Heb. 12. 20. I mean if a brutish thought do but touch a mans mind, so terrible is the sight thereof, as aggravated by Conscience, that he may say as *Moses 21. I exceedingly quake.* Look with how grim a Countenance, and with how incens'd a Heart *Ahasuerus* lookt upon *Haman*, when coming out of his Garden, he found that proud Traytor fallen upon the Bed, where *Hester* his Queen was; and said of him, *Will he force the Queen also before me in the House?* *Hester 7. 8.* With such an aspect, and with such a rage doth Conscience accost some Men; cause their Faces to be covered presently with shame and confusion: Doth it not fall upon some Men like a Bear robbed of her Whelps, or like a Man under Jealousie, upon him whom he suspects? Of which *Solomon* saith, *It is the rage of a Man, he will not spare in the day of his wrath.*

Conscience seems sometimes to vie with Death in the point of Terror, and to make it self more a King of Terrors than he; for Sin is the sting of Death, and Conscience is as it were the sting of Sin. That Death is less terrible than an enraged Conscience is manifest, because thousands fly or have fled from a pursuant Conscience,

to hide themselves in *the valley of the shadow of Death*; and have chosen rather to fall into their own Bloody and Murtherous Hands, than to remain in the hands of Conscience. How many pursued by Conscience, have repaired to a Melancholly Beam (as one calls it) or any thing they could make a Gallows of, as it were to a City of Refuge, or to the Horns of an Altar, that is, *have chosen strangling rather than life*. The Jews allow but Thirty nine Stripes to be given, even to Malefactors, *1 Cor. ii.* But Conscience will give Thousands and Millions, fetching Blood at every stroak. Stone, Collick, Strangury, are the names of three little Tortures, compared to that of a wounded and wounding Conscience (for so it is that a wounded Conscience will wound) if we wound it, it will wound us, that ever Gnawing Worm if we tread upon it will surely turn again. Nothing can make the Torment of *Racking* and *Burning* seem small, but the greater Torment of a Tormenting Conscience.

All I have said is easie to believe, if we but consider some men have preferred Hell it self before the smitings of an incensed Conscience; so *Judas* when he went
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and hanged himself, though others it may be have been preverted from doing the same thing, chiefly by considering that what is said of God, may as truly be said of and to Conscience, *Psal. 139. If I make my Bed in Hell behold thou art there.* Some it may be fear that never dying Worm in Hell, more than the Fire and Brimstone we read of, as supposing that the Torments of Conscience are all in all, as to the *Pena sensus*, or the positive Punishment which the damned do there undergo.

Say not the Lion is not so terrible as he is Painted, or Conscience as I have described it, for it alone can tell thee how terrible it is. Of it as of the great God, may be said, *Who knoweth the power of his wrath, according to his fear; so is his wrath.* The terrors of Conscience are as boundless as the extent of Fear, which is a passion that knows no limits. The Sea is bounded by Sands, but the dreads of Conscience hardly by any thing; no *Eoanarges* or Son of Thunder like to Conscience; no *high Court of Justice*, nor yet of Injustice so terrible as that. Two Witnesses serve in other Courts, Conscience is a *thousand Witnesses*; that which makes it more dreadful is,

is, In the Court of Conscience a man becomes a thousand Witnesses against himself, yea, a Man becomes that Judge that passes the Sentence of eternal Death on himself; as the *Apostle* saith, *Acts* 13. 46. *Yea, viz. Jews have put away the Gospel from you and judged your selves unworthy of everlasting Life.* Were there ever a *Francis Spiro* in our days (as it is like some such there are) he would tell you that all that I have said of the terror of a smitting Conscience, were but one half of what is true; yea, but a Flea-biting to what he himself had felt, *that eye had never seen, ear heard, or it ever entered into the heart of man to conceive,* how terrible the smittings of Conscience sometimes are; and that whereas 'tis said that *Deus & Eternitas non patiuntur Hyperbolen, id est,* that God and Eternity can admit of no *Hyperboles*, or cannot be out-languaged. The same may be truly said of a Conscience set upon smiting. I shall conclude this Head with those words of *Solomon*, *The spirit of a man will sustain his infirmities; but a wounded Spirit who can bear,* *Prov.* 18. 14.

Ninthly, Come we now to speak of the ninth and last Query propounded to be spoken to (*viz.*) *Quare, Why it is that Consci-*

ence doth smite men when they do, or have sinned against God? I answer, of that there are principally two reasons to be given: first of all, because God hath given Conscience a Command and Commission so to do; saying to Conscience, as to his Prophet of old, *Lift up thy voice like a Trumpet, tell the people their transgressions.* Conscience is God's *Attorney-General* (if I may so call it) God's Advocate to plead for God against man, to exhibit God's Indictments against man, as the matter doth or shall require. Conscience is also Gods *Executioner*, God's *Lictor* (if I may so call it) and therefore must smite when God bids it smite; it hath God's *fascies*, and *secures*, that is, God's Rods and Axes in his hands, and must not bear those ensigns of Authority in vain, but do execution with them, as the great *Consul* or *Dictator* of the world shall appoint. So much for the first reason. Secondly, The next is this, *God hath every way fitted and framed Conscience in its own fabrick, nature, and constitution, for such a work as this, (viz.) to smite men in reference to sin.* Unto so doing it is conducted as it were by instinct from God, as is the Sun to know its due time of Rising and Setting, and several Creatures void of understanding, to know their proper seasons:

yea,

yea, things without life act according to that frame and make which *Art* hath given them: so Clocks do strike, and Alarms go, and sound at such seasons as they are made to do: But for smitings of Conscience, there is further reason; for Conscience is at once both a *Law*, a *Witness*, and a *Judg*, appointed of God so to be, and qualified accordingly. As it is a *Law* of which the Apostle speaks, *Rom. 2. 14, 15. These* (speaking to the Gentiles) *having not the Law, are a Law to themselves*; which law is Conscience, that *you & ye*, or Law written in their hearts: Now Conscience as such is by Divines called *Synteresis*, being a Store-house of Maxims and Principles, informing us of the *Eterna & indispensabiles rationes boni & mali*, which Divines do so much speak of, engraven with the *κοιναι εννοιαι* or common notions of good and evil.

Secondly, *Conscience is a witness, yea a thousand witnesses*, as we learn from *Rom. 2. 15* by these words, *which show the works of the Law written in their hearts, their Conscience also bearing witness, and their thoughts mean while accusing or else excusing one another*. Now as Conscience is a witness, Divines call it *Syneidesis*. Lastly, *Conscience is a Judg*, and as such is by Divines called

Crisis : witness 1 John 3. 20, 21. *If our hearts condemn us, God is greater than our hearts, and knoweth all things: if our hearts condemn us not, then have we confidence towards God*: which words do shew Conscience to be a *Judge*; for it is the office of a Judge to pass sentence either of *Condemnation* or *Absolution*. Moreover, in those words are intimated, that God hath given to Conscience, as it were, *the power of the Keys*, and had said unto it as unto *Peter* and his Successors, *Matth. 16. 19. I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.*

But now methinks I have to encounter with a very grand Objection; namely this, *How can Conscience be said to be qualified as a reprover or smiter for sin, sith it sometimes smites men for that which is no sin? at other times when men do really sin against God, it smites not at all, but rather applauds and commends them; as did the Conscience of St. Paul, which told him he ought to do many things against Jesus of Nazareth; and that it was true zeal in him to persecute the Churches of Christ. Sith Conscience sometimes puts darkness for light, and light for dark-*

darkness; evil for good, and good for evil: what matter is it for its smitings, unless it were wiser, and knew how at all turns never to *justify the wicked, and condemn the righteous*. Can it be, may some say, that God should give a Commission to Conscience to smite those which ought not to be smitten, or to chide those which ought rather to be comforted, or to comfort and commend those who ought rather to be soundly chid and condemned. If Conscience trifle at this rate, may some say, ought it not to be slighted like a perfidious Jury, that brings in those guilty that are not guilty, and those not guilty that are guilty. This Objection seems to stand like a Mountain, if not like Mount *Sion* it self, which can never be removed; yet wait but a while, you may see it made a Plane, if not turned into a Valley. I premise a word or two by way of Concession; namely, that Conscience in this corrupt degenerate estate of all humane faculties, doth sometimes mistake comforting those which it ought to chide, and chiding those whom it ought to comfort: but thanks be to God, there is a way to prevent those mistakes. Time was when Conscience might have serv'd as a Law to us, and of it self, a kind of *regula pure regulans*: But now it

is *a regula regulata*, (viz.) *a rule to be ruled by the word of God*; which is to Conscience as a light shining in a dark place; to which the Consciences of men ought to take heed as to that which is *a light to their feet*, and *a lanthorn to their paths*. There is a crookedness which hath happened in part to the Consciences of men by *Adam's* fall, and their fall in him, but is such as may be rectified, or made streight, by attending to the word of God; as the Psalmist saith, *A young man may cleanse his way by taking heed to Gods Word*. Look how a raw and unskilful *Composer* may do well enough, if he shall but follow the advice of an able and careful *Corrector of the Press*; so may the Consciences of men produce a correct edition of their lives, if they make but such amendments as the word of God doth direct. Far be it from us to charge the holy God so foolishly, as if he did suborn and instigate the Consciences of men, to condemn them for what they ought to be commended, or to commend them for what they ought to be condemned: for shall *not the judg of all the earth do righteously*? is *not Jehovah a God that cannot lye*? This premised, it must needs be said, that God never did, doth, or can give to Conscience, a

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Commission, or command, to smite when it ought not to smite, or to strike when it ought rather to smile upon us: but it cannot be denied, but that God doth sometimes give such a *permission* as that to the Consciences of men, and leaves them (as he is free to do) to mis-represent things according to their corrupt and perverse inclinations.

That passage in the first of *Kings* 22. 22. which seemeth of all other Texts, most pregnant to prove that God Almighty doth sometimes give forth his command and commission to instruments, to do that which is evil, as namely to lye, &c. will be found upon due examination to signifie just nothing to that purpose: the words are these, *And the evil spirit said, I will go forth, and I will be a lying spirit in the mouth of all his,* that is, of *Ahab's* Prophets: *And* (he that is the Lord) said, *thou shalt perswade and prevail also; go forth and do so.* But upon due search it will be found that those words of God (*go forth and do so*) are not words of command, and Commission, but a bare permission, and sufferance; like those words of our Saviour to *Judas*, *John* 13. 27. *And after the sop Satan entered into him, That thou doest, do quickly.* As if he had said, now the
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fulness of time is at hand, in which the Son of man is to be betrayed, I will not hinder thee, but suffer thee to do what I know is in thy heart to do as soon as thou pleatest. Again, I say the words forecited, Go, and do so, signifie no more than did the words of Christ to the Devils who besought him to suffer them to go into the Herd of Swine, *Matth. 8. 31. And he said unto them, go, ver. 32.* that is not *I command* and appoint, but *I permit* and suffer you to do. Moreover, it is to be noted, that so the Hebrew Language doth often put the *Imperative* Mood for the *Future Tense*; as in *Prov. 4. 4. Keep my Commandments and live:* where *vive* is put for *vives*, *live* instead of *thou shalt live*. So *Prov. 9. 6. Forsake the foolish and live* (that is, and thou shalt live) of which there are many more instances in the holy Scriptures. In like manner the words, *go forth and do so*, in the Text I am explaining, signifie no more but this, I will not be thy hindrance, if thou wilt thou shalt for me; thou shalt have my permission to go forth and do so.

By what I have said, it doth plainly appear, that unless God were bound, as surely he is not, to hinder all the sin, that is, or ever was, or ever shall be possible for him to hinder,

hinder, that is, all sin that ever was or shall be in the world, there is no fault to be charged upon God for permitting, and but barely permitting the degenerate purblind Consciences of men, like *Ahab's* false Prophets to delude and deceive them. When the Consciences of men have defiled and debauched themselves, it is at Gods pleasure and liberty whether he will, or will not restore and rectifie them. However this may serve for ever to stop the mouths of men, that though their Consciences in this fallen state be not a light sufficient to guide them in all their ways, that they turn not aside from God more or less, to the right or to the left hand, yet God hath given another auxiliary or supplemental light, if I may so call it (*viz.*) the Holy Scriptures, which are said to be *profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnish'd unto all good works.* For as man could not plead ignorance after that God had given him the Ten Commandments, written in Tables of Stone, though he had defaced the Law which was at first written in his heart, this new edition of the Law in Tables of Stone, restoring to him what was obliterated in the stony table

table of his heart : so neither now, can men plead excuse for their sins, from the misdirectings of their Consciences : sith, God hath given his holy Word, as it were another *Conscience* and guide to men, to shew them the way, in the which they ought to walk, and to please God. What if the torch of natural light or Conscience hath been well nigh blown out, so long as there are the Sun Beams of Divine Revelation contracted in the holy Scriptures, as in a Burning-glass wherewith to light it again? Put *Conscience* and *Scripture* together, and where they two meet, there's light enough to make a mans way plain to heaven; and if he will but mind his *Compass*, to bring him safe to the port of everlasting happiness. So I have done with the doctrinal part of the first doctrine (*viz.*) that *Conscience is a smiter, or a thing that will smite men first or last, if they give occasion.*

I shall conclude this discousse with a few *Corolaries* or *Uses*. Use I. Then God hath not left himself without a witness in the breasts of men, nor men without warning. Sometimes Conscience witnesseth for God and against men; other times Conscience witnesseth for men, and with God; so the *Apostle* speaks, *The Spirit of God witnesseth with*

with our spirits that we are the children of God. Conscience is Gods Ambassador, lying leager in the souls of men, by which God is wont to give men notice, when he is *whetting his sword, bending his bow, making ready his arrow upon the string, and preparing for them instruments of death if they turn not*, as in *Psalms 7. 12.* God doth not usually surprize men, or come upon them unawares, before such time as he hath shot off his warning-piece. *Nineveh* had notice given it by the Prophet *Jonah* of its approaching ruine, if Repentance prevented not. God by the preaching of *Noah* warn'd the old world of that Flood which did await it, and was to fall upon it not till a hundred and twenty years after. God would have men forewarned that they might be forearm'd, *Amos 4. 12.* *Thus will I do unto thee, O Israel; and because I will do this unto thee, prepare to meet thy God, O Israel.* God threatens that he may not smite, wishing rather to *scare* men than to *hurt* them, and causeth Conscience to smite them, that if that will serve the turn, he may hold his hand; for it is better to fall into the hand of Conscience, than into the hand of God. If God had not such a witness as Conscience is, how could he convict men at the day of Judgment

ment of secret sins, as the Text saith, God will bring every secret thing to light, whether it be good or whether it be evil; and in the *1 Corinth. 4. 5.* is said, *God will bring to light the hidden things of darkness and make manifest the counsels of the heart.*

What but Conscience can witness against Men at the day of Judgment; their Heart Murthers, Heart Adulteries; as *Solomon* said to *Shimei*, *1 Kings 2. 44.* *Thou knowest all the wickedness which thy Heart is privy to.*

Now Conscience is such a witness as none can withstand or deny its testimony. If two credible witnesses are sufficient even in matter of Life and Death, much more Conscience which is a thousand witnesses: Hence it is that we read of him, who coming to a Wedding Feast, without a Wedding Garment; that when the King said unto him, *Friend. How camest thou in hither, not having a Wedding Garment?* he was speechless; *Matth. 22. 12.* Hence also we read of, *Every Mouth being stoppt, and all the World becoming guilty before God; Rom. 3. 19.* Hence it was that no reply was made to our Saviour, when he said, *He that is without sin, let him cast the first stone at her;* for the Text saith, *John 8. 9.* *They which heard it, being convicted in their own Consciences, went out one by one.*

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Now whereas some are brought in pleading thus for themselves, at the day of Judgment; *When did we see thee Hungry and fed thee not, Naked and clothed thee not, Sick, and in Prison, and did not administer unto thee? Matth. 25. 44.* The reason is, because they knew not that which Christ tells them of; in the next verse, *In as much as you did it not to one of the least of these, you did it not to me.* If their Consciences had been sooner convicted of their unkindness to their Saviour; expressed in their unkindness to his Disciples and Followers; they would not have had one word to say for themselves, or presumed to open their Mouths.

It can never be doubted whether the Message were left with those Persons, whom Conscience was appointed to warn; because Conscience alwayes speaks with the Parties themselves, and leaves its errand in their own Breasts: Indeed when Christ shall come to judge the World, it is said, *He will come like a Thief in the night.* Yea when God comes to ruine Persons or Nations, after fair warnings given, but never taken, he oft-times doth it suddenly: Hence *Destruction is said to come as a whirlwind, or as sorrow upon a Woman in Travail.*

vel, who are sometimes never better at ease, or more light-some or cheerful, than just before their Pains : hence those words of Solomon ; *Prov. 29. 1. He that being often reprov'd, hardeneth his Neck, shall suddenly be destroyed, and that without remedy* : There we read indeed of sudden destruction ; but of frequent reproof going before it. Now Conscience is the great *Reprover*, and a man is never thoroughly convicted as to himself, till he be so of his own Conscience ; so I have done with the first use. *Second Use*, The next Use or Corollary is this, *If Conscience be such a Smiter*, as hath been shewed, *then it is no argument that sinners scape scot-free, or go unpunished ; because their sins do not go before to Judgment, that is, are kept secret from men ; and consequently exempted from Humane Punishment, Pain, and Shame ; because it is Punishment enough, God wot, for a Man to run the Gantlet, and undergo the Rack of his own Conscience : If God shall but say, take him Conscience, take him by the Throat, clap Irons upon him, throw him in thy Dungeon, feed him with the Bread of Spiritual Affliction, and give him those Waters to drink, which are more bitter than the Waters of Marah.* If the great Judge

Judge shall thus deliver up a man to the severest of Jaylor's, and say, throw him in Prison, and give him no hope to come out till he pay the utmost farthing : Handle him as thou didst *Cain, Judas, Francis Spira,* (for thou canst do it) teach him as *Gideon taught the Men of Succoth, with Bryers and Thorns; tear him in pieces and let none deliver him; Psal. 15. 22.* If such a sentence as that shall come forth from the great God, he upon whom it is past, needs no Poverty, no loss of near and dear Relations, no Bodily Sickness or Pain; no Temporal Prison, no Reproach or Disgrace from Men to make him miserable; nay he shall be so in spight of Riches, Honour, Power, the best of Wives and Children, the kindest of Relations and Friends, and what ever else this World can give him; he shall tremble, as did *Belsazzar*, even when quaffing and carouzing with all his Friends about him; he shall sit Uneasie, and as it were upon Thorns, though he sit upon a Throne with his Crown on his Head, and his Scepter in his Hand; and Thousands of Nobles standing bare before him: he shall not be heartily merry, though upon his Wedding day, nor at the Birth and Baptizing of a brave Son, long desired; nor at a Prince-
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like Feast, when he hath all his Kindred and Friends about him ; the rarest Wines shall not be able to make him merry ; till they have made him not himself ; and then how he can be said to be merry who is not himself. I know not. Wine commonly makes the Brute or Brutal part of Man merry ; but what is that to the Man, or to the Soul of Man, which is himself ? God knows, if Conscience be wounded, a Man can possess no *Mirth*, but what is rather to be called *Madness* ; or like the Laughter, or Dancing of those who are stung with a *Tarantula* ; and let the Beast or Beastial part of Man be never so Brisk and Jocond, that which is properly called the Soul, *viz.* The Humane rational Soul or Spirit of a Man, *intermeddles not with its joys* ; which makes me think of the Apostles words, *The Widow which liveth in Pleasure is Dead while she lives* ; for what is Death but a separation of Soul and Body ? and in this case Soul and Body are separated ; for her animated Body hath Pleasure, but her Soul hath none.

Reader, If thou hadst ever known what the smitings of Conscience mean, I need not tell thee that they are sufficient to give a man a very Hell upon Earth, whilst they

they who behold his outward Prosperity, not knowing where the Shooe pinches him, do think him as it were in Heaven (if there be any such thing as Heaven upon Earth.) So I have done with the second Use. The Third Use is this, *If Conscience be so great and terrible a smiter, it must needs be great folly in Men, needlessly to provoke and inrage it (as too many do) from day to day; for there are a sort of Men, of whom David speaks, Who are wont to transgress without a cause, Psal. 25. 3. David speaks of some, who were his Enemies without a cause, Psal. 7. and without Cause had hid their net for him in a Pit; which without cause they digged for him; Psal. 35. 7.* May it not be said of some, that they are Enemies to God, and to the Peace of their own Minds, by making work for Conscience, and for Repentance, without any considerable cause: Of this sort are those, who abound in needless Oaths and Execrations, crying at every turn, I will be hang'd if this or that be not so. Yea, here and there you have a Monster of a Man, that fears not upon every slight occasion, to cry, *God damn me*, as if he defied his maker; and scorned that *Tophet which was prepared of old*, for such as he;

which God hath made deep and large ; the Pile whereof is much Wood, and the Breath of the Lord like a stream of Brimstone doth kindle it, *Isa.* 30. 33. Or as if they could cheerfully drink of the Wine of the Wrath of God, which is poured out with mixture into the Cup of his Indignation ; and endure to be tormented with Fire and Brimstone, in the presence of the Holy Angels, and in the presence of the Lamb ; and to have the smoke of their torment ascending for ever, and ever, and to have no rest day nor night ; *Rev.* 14. 10, 11. Or as if when the question is put, Who can dwell with the consuming Fire, who can dwell with everlasting Burnings ? as it is *Isa.* 33. 14. they could roundly answer ; That can we do : If so, they have stouter hearts than sinners in old time were wont to have ; for the Text saith, The sinners in Zion are afraid, fearfulness hath surprized the Hypocrites, saying, Who shall dwell with devouring Fire, &c. Methinks I can resemble these Persons to nothing so much as to the Priests of Baal, spoken of *1 Kings* 18. 28. of whom it is said, They cried aloud, and cut themselves after their manner, with Knives and Launces, till the Blood gushed out upon them. Many who laugh at the Papist for whipping themselves

on Good-Friday, do worse; for that Papists do in point of Devotion, aiming *ὑποτιθέντες τὸ σῶμα*, to beat down their Bodies (as we translate it) by beating them Black and Blew; but Atheists slash and gash their Souls with severe stroaks; for no good intent at all, but out of meer Irreligion and wanton Prophaneness.

Lord I can but think, how these men will look when Conscience shall come to reckon with them, and they find themselves not able to answer it one of a thousand? I can but think how pale they will look, or rather how black in the Face with fear and astonishment: what a dreadful eccho those Oaths and bloody Curses will have in Mens Ears when they come to be resounded upon a Sick-bed or Death-bed: Or rather in what a pickle those men will be *when the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from Heaven, with his mighty Angels in flaming Fire, taking vengeance on them that know not God and obey not the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ; and they see themselves punished with everlasting Destruction, from the presence of the Lord, and from the glory of his power; 2 Thes. i. 7, 8, 9.* If it be so terrible as it is, to hear but a zealous Minister, warmly discoursing of the

Torments of Hell, especially if a Mans Conscience at the same time second what he saith, and joyn issue with the Preacher, as did the Conscience of *Felix*, of whom it is said, *Acts 24.25. That when Paul reasoned of Righteousness, Temperance, and Judgment to come, Felix trembled*: I say, if the bare hearing of Hell be so terrible, as to make a Heathen Judge, upon the Bench, tremble at the words of his poor Prisoner at the Bar, standing there to await his Sentence; how intollerable will it be to feel such things? And who can chuse, when in the midst of those Flames, but cry out, as did the *Sinners and Hypocrites in Zion*; *Who can dwell with devouring Fire? Who can dwell with everlasting Burnings?* You would be loath constantly to sit under the Ministry of a *Boanerges*, that would be alwayes thundring and lightning; preaching of Hell and Damnation; flashing Hell-fire in your Faces, with every Sermon, as if Mount *Sinab* were his Pulpit; but were your Minister such, you could make a shift and an excuse to go out of the Church, as oft as he came to his use of terrour; and stay out of his way till the storm were over; but if you provoke your Consciences, and make them *burning* as well as
shining

Shining Lights within you (as that phrase may be taken) whether will you fly from those flames, and whereunto will you betake your selves? Go whither you will Conscience will follow you, and if you have Ears to hear will make you hear, yea will find you Ears, if you make as if you had none; yea, speak loud enough to be heard, though you were almost dead, or were disposed to turn a deaf Ear upon it.

Conscience will have access to you at all hours, even in the dead and still of the night; it will come stealing upon you like a Thief in the night: nay, that it need not do neither, for it will make bold with greatest noise to burst your Iron Bars, break open your Doors, and make a loud and forcible entrance upon you, when it pleases, and look upon it self to be always at home when it is where you are; yea to be Master of the House, and to have full authority to speak and do within your Breasts what it listeth: Conscience is as it were every Mans Chamberlain, and carrieth the Key of every Mans Breast, as it were, at his Girdle, and therefore can go or get into a Man when it pleaseth; and if they do, as it were, bolt or bar the Door on the inside, it is able to make even Brasse

or Iron Grates, to fly open before it; for nothing can keep Conscience out. Now Conscience being such a thing as I have described, what *Solomon* saith, *viz. He that passeth by and medleth with strife, that belongeth not to him, is like one that taketh a Dog by the Ears*; may be applied to Conscience.

And therefore it must needs be folly and madness in any Man, needlessly to provoke his Conscience, and without great cause and temptation to make work for it; as he were mad that would rouse up a sleepy Lion or Mastiff, when he had no occasion so to do. So much shall serve for the 3. Use. Fourth Use shall be this, *Sith it is the office of Conscience to smite Men, as in reference to sin, it must needs behove us to keep our Consciences alwayes in smiting case; I do not mean to give them cause to smite us, for that we should by no means do; but to keep them in an aptitude and fitness to smite us when just cause is given.* What is a Dog good for, if he will not so much as bark? Or what does a Sword signifie if it be rusty and has lost all its edge? Chyrurgeons can asill spare their smarting as their healing Plaisters; because proud Flesh must be taken off by Corrosives. Give me a Fever rather than a Lethargy, sith it is the manner

ner of Physicians to cure Men of Lethargies by casting them into Fevers : It is better to be blistered than stupified, therefore *Epispastick* Plaisters are applied when stupefaction is feared, but especially when incumbent. Let my Conscience rather raise Blisters on me from Head to Foot, than suffer me to fall into a dead sleep of Security, and fall into Hell in a Golden Dream of Heaven and Happiness.

Now that Conscience may be in smiting case, as the matter shall require, and have that sharp edge which is due to it, take the following directions :

Dir. 1. *Keep the Eye of Conscience alwayes open and clear, that it may be able to see when cause is given to smite.* The will indeed is *Cæca potentia*, a blind faculty, truly so called; and if not led by the understanding, will fall into many a Ditch; hence 'tis commonly said, that *Voluntas sequitur ultimum dictamen intellectus practici*. But as for the Conscience, that to be sure ought to be no blind faculty, for that is understanding it self, therefore called, *Intellectus practicus*; it does belong to it not to be led, but to lead; it is the very eye of a Soul, I had almost said the very Apple of its Eye: therefore let not so much as a Mote get into it, to dim and obscure it,

Direct. 2.

Direct. 2. *Keep alwayes a tenderneſs upon thy Conſcience, though not a perplexing ſcrupuloſneſs.* What ſaid God to *Joſiah*, 2 Kings 22. 19. *Be cauſe thine heart was tender, I alſo have heard thee; ſaith the Lord, &c.* A tender Conſcience is ſoon wounded, and a Conſcience that is wounded will certainly wound and ſmite. Conſcience of all things is not to be expoſed to hardſhip; for what Divines ſay of the Holy Ghoſt, viz. *That Spiritus Dei eſt res delicatula.* That he is a tender thing ſoon grieved and quenched. The ſame in its meaſure may be ſaid of Conſcience, it is a moſt tender thing. 'Tis preternatural, when thoſe parts of the Body that ought to be ſoft and tender, become hard and callous; as when a Mans Kidneys become petrified and turned into meer Stones; ſo it is when the heart of a Man becomes a heart of ſtone, which ought to be a Heart of Fleſh.

Direct. 3. *Labour to eſcape the frequent and more fervent ſmitings of Conſcience, for by means of them it is, that the hearts of Men become perfectly hardened.* Juſt like School-Boys, who having often felt the ſmart of the Rod or Ferula, and are feeling of it from day to day, are wont to deſpiſe thoſe Corrections, and to become Rod and Ferula proof.

Direct. 4.

Direct. 4. *Encourage Conscience to smite thee by mending upon it as often as it tells thee thy faults ; remembering that passage, Job 34. 31, 32. Surely it is meet to be said unto God, I have born chastisement, I will not offend any more ; that which I see not, teach thou me : if I have done iniquity, I will do no more.* Conscience will have little heart to smite a man any more, but rather consent that he be reserved to the day of Judgment to be punished, if when smitten, he revolt more and more ; and if he be not manifestly worse, is not one jot the better for all its smitings.

Direct. 5. *Be much in contemplation of Death and Judgment, and of the world to come ; or if thou wilt, of the quatuor novissima, or the four last things, viz. Death, Judgment, Heaven and Hell ; for they are as it were the four wheels which draw the Chariot of Conscience ; and when they or any of them is quite taken off, Conscience draws but heavily.* Commend me to the good man that said, *I bless God I carry my dying thoughts always about me, and do use to try my most solemn enterprizes by the touch-stone of this question : Will this or that give me comfort when I come to die ?* How will Conscience look upon this or that, through the perspective of Death and approaching Judgment ? To think

think often of our dying, and coming to judgment, is an excellent way to keep our Consciences alive and awake, and in smiting case; so I have done with the 3. Direction and 4. Use. The 5. Use or Corollary is this, *Sith Conscience is so terrible a Smiter, and so like to the Hand and Rod of Moses, which could fetch Water out of a Rock* (as has been shewed) *it behoves every Man to stand in Awe of his own Conscience,* and to take that advice as in reference to God himself, *viz. Stand in awe and sin not.* It was an old and a good saying, *Disce revereri teipsum.* That is, That a Man should learn to reverence, respect, and dread himself. Sure I am, There is no part of a Mans self, which he ought more, or yet so much to dread, as his Conscience: But for Conscience, no one faculty in the Soul of Man would be terrible to him, nor yet all his faculties put together, but Conscience infuseth terrour into every one of them. Who could not look upon the Register of his Memory without any trouble or fear, were it not that Conscience did severely reflect upon the evil action therein registred? Who could not exercise his speculative understanding, in contemplating the worst things he hath done, without regret,

gret, or remorse, were it not that Conscience, that *Practical Intellect*, did make such terrible use of them? Who could not disport himself with his Fantasie and Imagination, and pleasantly act over all his former enormities upon that stage; were it not for Conscience, that is apt to spoil the Sport, to look a Man out of Countenance, and to speak to him in those words of Solomon, *Eccles. 11. 9. Rejoyce, O Young Man, in thy Youth, and let thy Heart cheer thee in the days of thy Youth, and walk in the wayes of thine heart, and in the sight of thine eyes; but know thou, that for all these things God will bring thee into judgment.* They had wont to say, *Cave Cato videt.* Take heed Cato sees you. But I say, *Cave Conscientia videt.* Take heed Conscience sees you; get out of Consciences sight if you can and do your worst; but I had almost said, you may as easily fly from God himself, who is *Omnipresent*, as from Conscience, which is Gods Deputy; though it be not every where present as God is, and present to all Creatures as God is, yet it is present to every Mans self; and I was about to say of it, in reference to every Mans Soul, as is said of the Soul in reference to the Body; that *Conscientia est tota in toto & tota in qualibet parte.*

parte. That is, Intirely in all and every part and faculty of the Soul. Say often to thy self, It is more to me, that my Conscience is privy to what I do, though all the World besides be ignorant of it, than if all the World besides knew it, and my own Conscience knew nothing of it; for if Conscience be disposed to take vengeance on me, and to call me to a strict account for what I have done; I know it can create punishments for me beyond all that men can inflict, or that can be inflicted by any hands save his, *who is able to cast Soul and Body into Hell Fire*; and in that regard is the onely Person whom I ought to dread and reverence more than my own Conscience: for as *Self Murther* is the worst and cruellest of all Murthers, so Self-smittings (and what are they but reflections of Conscience) are the terriblest of all smiteings. They are those *Arrows of the Almighty that stick in Mens hearts, and the venom thereof drinketh up their Spirits*. What pity is it, that many men never learn to fear themselves enough till they come to feel themselves so sharp upon, and so uneasy to themselves, that they can bear it no longer; that they seem a greater Hell to themselves than Hell it self would be: (which

(which was *Spira's* case.) It is one good answer wherewith to stop the mouth of the tempter, *How can I do this wickedness and sin against my own Conscience?* How can I look my Conscience in the face if I comply with such a temptation; or rather how dreadfully will Conscience stare me in the face when I have done it? I had rather displease the whole World than displease that part of my self, which is called Conscience; for if that once be angry and continue so, I shall have no joy in my Life; all my comforts will be imbittered; it will give me for *Beauty Ashes*, for the *Oyl of Joy, Mourning*; for the *Garment of Praise, the Spirit of Heaviness*; it will be *Colloquintida*, or Death in the pot of all my Injoyments: They feel Conscience least who fear it most; and they who in one sense are most afraid of Conscience, are usually least hurt by it (as Parents love not to strike those Children, whom they can sufficiently over-awe and deter from mis-doing without striking them.) So I have done with the 5. Use.

A Sixth shall be this: *Sith Conscience is so dreadful a Smiter, it must needs be every mans concern to maintain Peace, Amity, and a good Correspondence with his own Conscience; that*

that it may either not smite him at all ; or in measure, so as he may be able to bear it ; staying (if I may so speak) its rough Wind in the day of the East-wind ; not thrashing out the Fitches with a thrashing Instrument , nor turning about the Cart Wheel upon the Cummin, but beating out the Fitches with a Staff , and the Cummin with the Rod : To allude to what is said of God, *Isaiah 28. 27. Correct him but in measure , though it leave him not altogether unpunished ;* as God promised his People ; *Jer. 30. 11: School Boys who have Masters eminently severe , are concerned to make as few faults as ever they can, and to please them as much as ever lies in their power , as ever they hope to sleep in a whole skin : such a Master is Conscience if it set on.*

Now the way to give it content , and to keep it quiet with us , is as followeth :

Direct 1. *See that Conscience it self be well advised and informed , like a Jury that have received full instructions from the Judge ; else it may chance to chide us sometimes upon pure mistake , as the weakest People are usually the most querulous. What serves the Word of God for , what more proper use can be made , of pious and able Ministers , of our acquaintance with Judicious and experienced*

perienced Christians, than that by the help of all these our Consciences might be guided into the way of truth? Neither is it easie for us to imagine, that in case we did use all these means to inform our Consciences aright, that God would suffer them to err in any great and dangerous instances.

Direct. 2. *When we have got our Consciences well advised, our next business should be to consult and advise with our Consciences.* When Conscience hath heard what God hath to say to it, we should hear what Conscience had to say to us: As God gave his Law to *Moses*, and *Moses* to his People, so God speaks first to Conscience, or gives his Law to Conscience; and Conscience in Gods Name gives Law to us: If we pay not that respect to our Consciences to consult with them, they will never be at peace with us, but think themselves slighted and affronted: Conscience expects that every Man should say to it, *By your leave, and may it stand with your good liking*; before he enterpriseth any matter of concernment. When a Man hath any thing in design, the first question to be asked, is, *Is it lawful to be done?* And of whom should a Man ask that but of his Conscience,

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leaving thar to inform it self the best it can , by all the wayes and means afore-said : For as God took it ill when the *Israelites sate down to eat and drink with the Gibeonites ; and asked not Counsel of the Lord :* So will Conscience when we do any thing of importance , and do not first ask its Counsel , and repair to it as to an Oracle.

Direct. 3. *If thou wouldst not have Conscience smite thee, then when Conscience is yet in doubt and suspence , be thou in suspence also ; suspend acting till Conscience become resolved :* according to that good old saying , *Quod dubitas , ne facias.* Remembring the Apostles Words , *He that doubteth is damned if he eat , because he eateth not of faith ; for whatsoever is not of faith is sin , Rom. 14. 23.* As also the Exhortation which the same Apostle giveth ; v. 5. *Let every man be fully perswaded or assured in his own mind :* Meaning of the lawfulness of that which he taketh in hand. He that would maintain peace and friendship betwixt Conscience and himself , or rather that would have his Conscience *good friends* with him ; let him await the full resolution and satisfaction of Conscience before he presumes to act.

Direct. 4. *He that would escape the severe stroaks and smitings of Conscience , let him*
take

take heed of doing any thing contrary to the
express dictates and commands of thereof; of
going (if I may so express it) to Tarshish,
as did Jonah, when Conscience would send him
to Nineveh; of going to the West, when
the Commission which he hath received is
for the East. Conscience is very impati-
 ent of being contradicted; and that Men
 and Women should proceed point blank,
 contrary to its Counsel and Command.
 Next to that indignation wherewith you
 may imagine the great God resented it,
 when the *Israelites* of old made this stub-
 born reply to his Prophet *Jeremy*, *Jer. 44.*
16. viz. As for the Word that thou hast spoken
to us in the name of the Lord, we will not
hearken unto thee, but we will certainly do
whatsoever thing goes forth out of our own
Mouth; to burn Incense unto the Queen of
Heaven, &c. You may conceive that
 indignation to be wherewith Conscience
 resents it; when any Man saith to it, either
 in words or in effect, As for what thou
 hast spoken to me in the Name of the
 Lord, I will not do it; but whatsoever pro-
 ceedeth out of my own Heart and Mouth,
 that will I do. The day is yet to come,
 in which Conscience ever did, or ever will
 speak peace to those that are in flat re-

bellion against it : and as the Text saith, *Had Zimri peace who slew his Master?* So may it be said, Had ever any Man peace whilst he was in actual Arms and Hostility against his Conscience? No, no, The way to peace and tranquility of Mind, is to do nothing but by full and free leave and consent of our well informed Consciences.

Direct. 5. *If thou wouldst shun the smite-ings of Conscience, being so terrible as thou hast heard they are; give thy Conscience the preference and preheminance above all other faculties of thy Soul; yea above all other Creatures interest and considerations whatsoever.* The interest of God and Conscience is one and the same; and therefore that Interest should take place of all others. Say not my Will and Affections, nor yet my Pleasure, Profit, nor Honour, do incline or invite me, this or that way: If Conscience suggest other things, and say, O do not that thing whereto thy will and affections are so much inclined, or thou so much tempted by thy worldly interest: for Conscience is more than all the rest. All other Sheaves ought to bow to the Sheave of Conscience; to allude to what was prophesied, and as it were typified, concerning Joseph and his Brethren; that they should

should be subject to him. We have a Proverb, *My Mind to me a Kingdom is :* To be sure every Mans Conscience is his Kingdom. So long as any Man holds the possession of a good and unvanquished Conscience, he may be said to be in his Kingdom ; for surely among those Kings of whom God saith, *By me Kings Reign ;* Conscience is one *Dejure* ; and he admits of *Tyrany* and *Usurpation* in his Soul, who suffers any other Creature to rule over him, or any being, but he that is *The King of Kings, and Lord of Lords :* One saith well, *That Peace is every thing in Gods Order ;* and that there is no true Peace but where it is so ; you may therefore conclude that where the sovereignty of Conscience, next and immediately under the great God, is not owned and submitted to, there can be no Peace ; for so long as Conscience can hold a Scepter in his Hand , he will smite all such Persons, or do what is worse.

Direct. 6. *If thou wouldst disable Conscience from smiting or arresting thee , labour alwayes to carry a pardon about thee , signed and sealed with the Blood of Jesus :* have thy Discharge and Acquittance from the great God, alwayes in readiness to produce ; then mayest thou presently stop the mouth

of Conscience if it begin to accuse thee with such words as those, *Rom. 8. 33. Who shall lay any thing to the charge of Gods Elect*, it is God that justifieth; who is he that condemneth, it is Christ that died; nay, rather that is risen again, &c. Then may you say, using the Apostles words, *I Cor. 6. 11. And such* (meaning such great sinners) *were some of you: but you are washed, but you are sanctified, but you are justified in the Name of our Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God.* Lastly, *Thou mayest build upon it, that a well informed Conscience will never smite thee, so as to do thee any great hurt, if thou canst but sincerely say of thy self what Saint Paul saith of himself; Acts 24. 16. Herein do I exercise myself, to have alwayes a Conscience void of offence towards God and towards Man.* Nay let me tell you, the fore-going Directions, well observed and practised, will not onely prevent the stripes and smitings of Conscience, but also procure the smiles thereof, and cause it to speak to thee in such Language, as the great Judge will to all true believers, at the great day, saying, *Well done good and faithful servant, enter into the joy of thy Lord.*

The Second
DISCOURSE
O F
No Conscience,
O R
Of the Murthering
O F
King Charles I.

Calculated more especially to be
Read on any Thirtieth Day of
JANUARY.

BY DOCTOR
SAMUEL ROLLS
*One of His Majesties Chaplains
in Ordinary.*

LONDON, Printed 1678.



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The Second Discourse.

NOW Reader if thou art only for *Practical Divinity*, stop here and go no further; for I confess to thee what remains will be partly *Polemical*, partly *Political*; being such as the solemnity of the 30th day of January, and the occasion of the Fast of that day doth call for: For methinks, if I may presume to know the Whispers of Mens Hearts, I hear some prejudiced Persons object and say, *What cause hath any Mans Conscience to smite him for having been concerned in the Death of King Charles the First? Why is he called a Martyr? or why his Judges called Murtherers?* So many of them as died upon the account of that Fact?

Now why should I be thought uncharitable, for imagining this to be the language of some Mens Hearts, since *David* saith, *Psal. 36. 1. The transgression of the wicked saith within my heart, that there is no fear of God before his eyes; (there taking upon him to judge the*
Root

Root in their hearts, by the fruit in their
 lives) there being so great a foundation in the
 practices of some men to judge so of their
 hearts : Namely, That they think the King
 no Martyr, nor his Judges no Murtherers.
 Nay what if some do think, That they were
 the true Martyrs, who suffer'd for putting
 the King to death. This will be more ea-
 sie for any man to believe, if he shall but
 consider that not one of all those men that
 were condemned and executed for giving
 Sentence against the late King of Blessed
 Memory, would ever acknowledge that
 he had sinned against God in so doing. Since
 they did seem to be of that mind, who
 had the *Microscope of Death* before them
 (which I so call, because death oft makes
 men spy small faults in themselves, who be-
 fore could not espy great ones.) Doubtless
 there are many others of the same mind,
 though a man would wonder that there
 should be *such a veil of ignorance upon the*
hearts of any that are called Christians, as
 not to know so black and foul a Crime as
 that to be a sin. But sith so it is, that some
 if they durst, would rather applaud that
 Bloody Fact than profess to abhor it; and
 would not doubt to say, That Ministers in
 observing the *Thirtieth day of January* as a
 solemn

solemn Fast , do but mock God and flatter the State ; being a time which some had rather keep as a *day of Thanksgiving* (the more their Sin and Shame) I think it but necessary , not in order to kindling of Coals or increasing Animosities , or causing the surviving relations of the Kings Judges to be more hated and scorned ; for God knows I abhor any such thing : remembering what *Amaziah* did , *Who put to death those that slew his Father , but he slew not their Children ; but did as it is written in the Book of Moses : viz. Deuter. 24. 16. where the Lord commanded , saying, the father shall not die for the children , neither shall the children die for their fathers ; but every man shall die for his own sin ; 2 Chron. 25. 4.* I say not in order to fixing any *odium* or disgrace upon the survivors , but purely to convince as many as stand in need of it ; that Ministers and People may and ought to observe the *Thirtieth of January* as an Anniversary Fast. Yea , and that our Rulers do well in appointing it so to be kept , in order to bewailing and seeking the expiation of a most notorious Sin ; and fetching out the stain of Royal Blood. I say in order thereunto , I hold it necessary and a Duty , to set a Mirror before the Eyes of Men , in
which

which they may see the true visage and complexion of that horrid Crime, which God grant may never more be laid to *Englands* charge. Know then if either *Perjury, High Treason, Rebellion, Sacrilege, Wilful and deliberate Murther, Parricide*, or the killing of a Father, *Patricide*, or the ruining of our Native Countrey. *Iusticidium*, or taking away the life of a Just Person. *Regnicidium*, or the destroying of a Kingdom. *Monarchicidium* or the destruction of Monarchy it self; *Legicidium*, or the subversion of Laws; *Suicidium*, or a mans killing of himself, or being *Felo de se*; *Animacidium*, Soul-murther, so far as in men is; *Multicidium*, or the Murthering of many at once, both as to body and soul, if Gods mercy prevent not; yea, *Deicidium*, or striking at the life of God himself; (in a higher sense than most other sins are said to do) I say if all these things put together, do amount to a very great and stupendious sin; then such a sin it was to put *King Charles the First* to death.

And now you see, I have not charged the Kings Judges with *Cumulative Treason* (or many *Petty Treasons*, or *Non Treasons*, pretended when they were all put together, to amount to *High Treason*) for *High Treason*

for it self is but one Article in this Charge!

Now it remains that so great a Charge as this, should be proved against them. And had I not been conscious of its being easie to be proved, I would never have exhibited it, for fear of violating the Ninth Commandment.

First Article of this Charge is *Perjury*; for I do aver that they who sentenced the King to death, did in so doing horribly violate the Oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy*, as also the *Solemn League and Covenant* (though an Oath of their own imposing) wherein they swore to *preserve the Kings life and honour, &c.* And as many of them as were his *Majesties Servants* (as some such there were) did also break the particular Oath which they had taken as such; and thus breaking four Oaths at once, may be said to be *shed round with Perjury*.

Some it may be would have added, that they had also violated their *Baptismal Vow and Oath*, and as many Repetitions and Confirmations of it, as they had made in receiving the holy *Eucharist*; because by those two Sacramental Vows, all other Duties are bound upon men, and consequently the observation of all our lawful

Promis-

Promissory Oaths ; but I need not strain so far to find out Aggravations of so Notorious a Fact.

Secondly , *My Charge against these men is that of High Treason.* It is *Petty Treason* for a Woman to kill her own Husband, though but a private man , and what petty Sovereigns are private men compared with Princes ? 'Tis Treason by our Laws barely to imagine the death of the King, Queen, or Prince , yea to kill the Chancellor, Treasurer, or any Justice of either Bench ; Justices of Assize, or any other Justices doing their Offices ; is by the Statute declared to be *High Treason.* Statut. de Proditionibus , 25 E. 3. Stat. 5. cap. 2. Yea it is *Petty Treason* for a servant to kill his Master, &c. *Nay clipping, crashing, rounding , or filing for lucre sake any of the Peoples Moneys or Coyns of this Realm , is adjudged High Treason ;* Stat. 5 Eliz. 11.

Is the Kings Money as it were inviolable, and not to be clipped or diminished, but upon pain of death : and is not his person so ? In a Statute 13 Car. 2. cap. 1. it is thus said , *It shall be Treason in any persons whatsoever to compass, imagine, invent, devise, or intend death or any bodily harm, maim, or wounding , imprisonment , or restraint of the person*

person of the King, &c. If to maim or imprison his person be Treason, what is it then to put him to death?

But methinks I hear some say, Though the Laws of *England* do punish *Treason* as a great and capital Crime, yet possibly it is not so in the eye of Gods Law? Now though every Breach of Gods Commandment be a sin, yet possibly there are some Laws of Men that may be broken without sin. To that I reply the sinful Laws of Men are better broke than kept. Such as was *Nebuchadnezzar's*, when he commanded all people to fall down and worship the Golden Image that he had set up; *Dan. 3. 5.* Such also was *Darius* his, *Dan. 6. 7.* when he made a Decree, That whosoever should ask a Petition of any God or man, save of the King, for thirty dayes; should be cast into a Den of Lyons. Such also were the Statutes of *Omry*, *Micah 6. 16.* But no man can imagine that those Laws are sinful, by which the lives and liberties of Princes as well as of the People, are secured to them. Now most certain it is that Humane Laws, when lawful, can never be violated without sin, or without doing that which is in the sight of God as well as of men unlawful.

I think

I think at present of no less than five Commandments of the Second Table which were broken by those who put King *Charles the First* to death (viz.) *first of all the Fifth Commandment*, in these words, *Honour thy father and thy mother*; for Kings are *Political Fathers*: and to kill them, is as far from honouring them as any thing can be. Secondly, *It was a manifest violation of the Sixth Commandment*, which saith, *Thou shalt not kill*. Thirdly, *of the Eighth Commandment* also, which saith, *Thou shalt not steal*. For was not the language of their hearts who put the King to death, the same with that of their mouths, *Mat. 21. 38.* who said of our Saviour, *Come let us kill him, and let us seize on his inheritance*. Witness *Cooks Confession*, viz. *That what he did in reference to the Kings death, was not out of malice but covetousness; not out of hatred to the King, but for the love of money. Habentem consitem reum.* The *Ninth Commandment*, which is, *Thou shalt not bear false witness*, was as manifestly transgressed by those who had a hand in that good Kings death, as any of the former. For without the horrible breach of that Commandment, it had been utterly impossible for them by a pretended *High Court of Justice*, and seemingly formal process

process of Law (or rather *Pageantry of Judicature*) to have sentenced so excellent a Prince to die the death of a Malefactor: 'Tis not yet forgotten what one or more said of him, when *the pit was digging*, and the *net spreading*, for the life of the late renowned King, *viz. Blacken him, blacken him*; meaning, *Calumniare fortiter ut aliquid hereat*; i. e. Brand him, smut him, make him odious; lay those things to his charge which he never did: represent him (for so did *Cook*, that was Solicitor against him in his printed charge) as bad almost as was *Nero* himself; or as they did our Saviour, *John 7. 20. The People said thou hast a Devil, &c. i. e. Thou art possesst, Satan bath fill'd thy heart and body both*; thou keepest a familiar one or more, and doest cast out Devils by *Belzebub the Prince of Devils*. *Sith this was done to the green dry, wonder not at what was done to the dry*. I am confident *Jezebel* did not more falsely accuse *Naboth* of Blasphemy, in the high Court of Justice, which she procured against him, than was his Majesty of famous memory, accused in the things that were laid to his charge; some of which were so horrid (the more horrid and execrable the guilt of his accusers) as nothing could be more.

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If

If our proverb be true, about losing a good name, He that wholly takes away the good name, though but of a private person, though he do nothing more, does worse than *behead* him. What then have they done, or wherewithal shall their Crime be expiated, who did not only take away the Head of an excellent Prince, one of a thousand, but his good name also (as much as in them lay) and did not only extinguish his Life and Light, but endeavoured to make him go out in a snuff, and leave a loathsome stench behind him; which maugre all their malice God hath converted into a *sweet odor*; and now he who had no Funeral Sermon on the day he was Buried, hath hundreds, that may be so called, preached anniverfally on the day of his Death, *viz.* each 30 day of *January*, and his name imbalmed a-fresh on every such day, and like to be so to all posterity.

Lastly, *If their Treason, who imbrued their hands in the Blood of the late King, were not attended with the breach of the Tenth Commandment no sin ever was.* This horrid *Murder* and *Treason*, was certainly one branch springing from that bitter root *Covetousness*; which the Apostle calleth *the root of all evil*;

vel ; and if of all evils, surely of this for one! They thought the Life of a King in an ill sense *more worth than the lives of ten thousand of his Subjects* ; I mean a better prey, a greater booty, of which they could make more earnings and greater advantage to themselves than of ten thousand other Lives. They would have said of a common man, *Quid landis in nece tantilla bestia?* He had not been worth the beheading, what should they get by his death? But doubtless they had well computed what was to be gotten by the death of their King. He had *Fields and Vineyards*. They knew how to part the Skin of a royal Lyon if he were but once dead : they would be his *Executioners* (as it were) that they might make themselves his *Executors*, I mean serve themselves of his Revenues, and cause him to die that they might live more splendidly. The Flowers and Jewels of one Royal Crown are sufficient to enrich (though with a vengeance) many private Families. That by their own confession some of them aimed at, and doubtless so did the rest or most of them that did never confess it. *Was it not the wedge of Gold*, I mean the Kings Revenues, and that which they called *A Babylonish Gar-*

ment, viz. *The Lands of Bishops, Deans and Chapters*, which those *Achans*, those Troublers, of *Israel* long'd for, and made their way to, through the Blood of their King? So *Judas* for the *lucre* of 30 pieces betrayed his Lord and Master. Now if that be not a great sin which breaks five Commandments at once, let the World judge.

And so I pass on to my Third *Aggravation*, of their sin who Murthered King *Charles* the First, *It was flat and down-right Rebellion, open and palpable Rebellion.* In what can a Son more rebel against his Father, than if he seek to take away his Life, yea do actually murther him? Now Kings are as well Political Fathers to their Subjects *de facto*, as they are Nursing Fathers *de jure*. Yea such *Political Fathers* are much more superior to their *Political*, than *Natural Fathers* are to their *Natural Children*. Sons if abroad in the World and at full age, are not indecently suffered to be covered in the presence of their Fathers; but may ordinary *Subjects* be so in the presence of their King? If then Kings be unquestionable Fathers to their Subjects, and of an order of Fatherhood superior to those who begat them, then whatsoever is *Rebellion* in Children against their *Natural Fathers*,
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the same thing if against their King is as true and as great, yea greater Rebellion, *Ex parte objecti*: Now the Scripture calls it Rebellion in a Son, but to *resist* and *refuse* the lawful Commands of his Father, *Dent.*

21. 18. *If a Man have a stubborn and rebellious Son, which will not obey the voice of his Father, or the voice of his Mother, and that when they have chastened him, will not hearken to them*: There you have a Rebel against his Natural Parents *de facto*, viz. *A Child that will not obey or hearken to the voice of his Father, or of his Mother*: And his Punishment is set down, v. 21. *All the men of his City shall stone him with stones that he die*. Is Disobedience in a Child to the lawful Commands, not only of a Father but of a Mother, Rebellion, and such as God appointed to be punished with death, and such a death too as is there described, viz. *Then shall his Father and his Mother lay hold on him, and bring him out unto the Elders of his City, and unto the Gate of his Place; and they shall say unto the Elders of his City, This our Son is stubborn and rebellious, he will not obey our voice, &c.* v. 19, 20. Where first of all his own Parents were to be his *accusers*, yea as it were the *Constables* that were charg'd with him

to bring him before the Magistrates and give evidence against him, declaring his Crime, viz. saying, *This our Son is stubborn and rebellious, a glutton and a drunkard.* Then his own Countrey-men or Townsmen, here called *the Elders of his City*, were to be his Judges, and to give sentence against him, and that sentence of Death, and that the Death of a *Dog*, viz. to be stoned, and that stoning by the hand not of one strange Executioner, but by the hands of *Countrey-men or fellow-townsmen*, every one of which did or might fling a stone at him; so at once giving him, both his death and burial, and killing him, as it were, by *burying him*; that is, by *burying him alive* under a heap of Stones. This Punishment did the Law of God award for rebelling but against the Commands of a private Father or Mother; even death and such a death. If he that rebelled but against the majesty of a private Father or Mother were so punished, surely we may allude to what David spoke to Doeg, Psal. 120. *What shall be given unto thee? or what shall be done unto thee thou false Tongue?? who rebellest against the Majesty of a King; sharp arrows of the Almighty with Coals of Juniper, as it is v. 4.* Nay beyond all this, if to rebel against the

the Will and Command of a *private Parent* were made a capital Crime, how much more than capital (if a man had any thing dearer to him than life to lose) might it justly be made to rebel against the very Life of a King, and our own King? Hear the Prophet aggravating the sin of Rebellion *1 Sam. 15. 23. And Samuel said, Rebellion is as the sin of Witchcraft, and Stubbornness is as Iniquity and Idolatry. Now whereas some may object that that is spoken of Saul's Rebellion against God, not of any Subjects Rebellion against him (which is very true) yet for as much as they who rebel against the lawful Commands of their lawful Rulers, in so doing do rebel against God, whose Vicegerents they are, whose Image they bear, by whom Kings Reign; and who are called The ordinance of God, Rom: 13. 2. Hence may they be said to be guilty of Idolatry or Witchcraft, or what is as bad, who rebel against their lawful Commands; but a thousand times more who rebel against the Lives of Gods anointed ones; I mean of those Kings whom God hath set over them.*

Then let no Man say *Rebellion* is no sin, unless he think that *Idolatry and Witchcraft* be no sins neither. Why do we read of

those who perished in the gainsaying (i. e. in the Rebellion) of Core, Jude 11. if Rebellion be no great sin? Core and his Complices were a sort of *Rebellious Levellers*, or *Levelling Rebels*, attempting to overthrow the Government both of Church and State, as appeareth by their ἀνυποψία, their gainsaying or contradicting and murmuring against both Moses and Aaron; and see what came of them, v. 32. *The earth opened her mouth and swallowed them up and their houses, and all the men that appertained to Corah, and all their Goods.* What had Corah, Dathan, and Abiram done? Had they cut off the Head of Moses and of Aaron? no such matter, They had only opened their mouths against them, and talkt at such a rate as if they had been as good men as they themselves; and for that did the Earth open its mouth upon them, *They and all that appertained to them went down alive, into the Pit, and the Earth closed upon them and they perished from the Congregation*, v. 33. Which words give me fit occasion to mention what he, whom some have called *Our English Seneca*, meaning *Master of the Sentences*, saith to this purpose, *Vengeance against Rebels may sleep, it cannot die. A sure if late judgment attends those that dare to lift up*

either

either the hand or tongue against the sacred persons of Gods Vicegerents : Nay hear what a greater than he saith, *Rom. 13. 1, 2. The Powers that be are ordained of God, whosoever therefore resisteth the Power resisteth the ordinance of God, and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation.*

Now the word *ῥήμα* (here translated *damnation*) is put in many places, not only for *Judgment*, as some would mince the matter, but for Gods eternal wrath and vengeance. So *Luke 20. 47. Acts 24. 25. Rom. 2. 2. Heb. 6. 2. 2 Pet. 2. 3. 1 Cor, 11. 29.* See Dr. *Hammond.*

Thus having proved *Perjury, High Treason, and Rebellion*, against those who had their hands in murdering of King *Charles the First*, I come in the fourth place to lay *Sacrilege* to their charge ; of which I shall easily prove them as guilty as of the three former. Now that word *Sacrilege* is no sooner dropt from my Pen, but I fancy that at the first sight thereof some there are that will forthwith charge *Superstition* upon me, for using it ; looking upon that which we call *Sacrilege*, or upon the notion of *Sacrilege*, as a meer *Chimera* or *Ens rationis* ; a Bugbear to scare Children. For their opinion is that there
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are but fours sort of Holy things in the World, viz. 1. *The Holy God, Trinity in Unity, &c.* 2. *Holy Angels and Archangels,* 3. *Holy Men and Women, or Saints Triumphant in Heaven, and Militant upon Earth.* 4. *Holy Ordinances of God, such as Prayer, Preaching, Sacraments, &c.* Now it is very true, if we speak concerning the Holiness of Things, nothing but the *Ordinances of God*, if ye take that word in the largest sense, viz. for Things ordained and instituted of God, as holy separate and devoted to himself are holy; (for God is the Fountain of all kind of holiness as Kings are of all temporal honours.) But the great mistake of these who make nothing of *Sacrilege*, yea who despise the word *Sacrilege*, lies here; by God *Ordinances*, they understand nothing but *Scriptures, Praying, Preaching, Hearing, Reading, Singing of Psalms, Sacraments, &c.* These indeed are *Ordinances of God*, but whatsoever else is of Gods ordaining and appointing, as set a part or devoted to himself, is Gods *Ordinances* Also: *Civil Power and Authority*, is called *the Ordinance of God*, Rom. 13. 2. because *ordained of God, v. 1.* and therefore surely it is in a sense *sacred*, because one of Gods *Ordinances*.
Upon

Upon that account it was that the *Ark* of God, though but a piece of Wood, was called *Holy*, and that we do read so often of *Holy days*, the *Sabbath* and other festivals; yea of *holy places*, yea of *the holy of holies*, or *most holy place* (which was the inmost Temple (called the *Sanctuary*) and that *Jerusalem* is called the *Holy City*. Also of the *Holy Vessels* that were in the *Tabernacle*, 1 Kings 8. 4. And of the *Holy Garments* made for Aaron and his Sons, *Exod.* 28. 3. and 29. Hence the Priests and Sons of *Aaron* are said to be *Holy* to God, by vertue of their Office, *Levit.* 21. 8. Yea hence those words, *Levit.* 25. 12. *It is the Jubile, it shall be holy unto thee.* i. e. it shall be observed as a thing of Gods ordaining, and therefore inviolaible and sacred.

Now in this sense it may be truly and soberly said of all Kings, as such, that they are *sacred*, viz. Because the Powers that are are, ordained of God, and cannot be resisted but upon pain of damnation, because they are the Ordinance of God, *Rom.* 13. 2.

Now *Sacrilege* being the violation of *sacred things* (for that all Scholars know to be the true notion of it) and the Persons and Authority of Kings being *sacred* (as hath

hath been proved at large) they must needs be guilty of notorious *Sacrilege*, who not only despised the *Authority*, but destroyed the very Life of that excellent King whom we have been speaking.

But there is one cause more of mens despising the great sin of *Sacrilege* and making nothing of it, *viz.* A great mistake which they are and have been under, as touching the *holiness* of Persons, *viz.* That they know and acknowledge no holiness of Persons, but that which the Scripture intends, when it saith, *without holiness no man shall see God*: Whereas most evident it is, both from the Old and New Testament, that Persons are very often called *holy* upon a much more laxe, large and loose account. Ex. gr. 1. *Upon account of being dedicated, though not by themselves to God, yet by God to himself, to his own use and honour,* Luke 2. 23. *Every Male that openeth the Womb shall be called holy unto the Lord.* Surely that is not meant of a *saving* but of a *ceremonial* Holiness, of a *typical* rather than of a *substantial* Holiness, 2. *Upon account of Gods external Adoption* of a people to the title and outward priviledges of his Children and Holy ones. Hence it is said of the *Jews* or Jewish Nation, though it were not *savingly* true

true of all or of the most of them; 1 Pet. 2. 9. *You are a chosen Generation, a holy Nation, a peculiar People, &c.* The reason of which Apellation is, because they were *Israelites, to whom pertained the Adoption and the Glory, and the Covenants, &c.* Rom. 9. 4. Not so far forth, as that all of them were thereby finally sav'd, but only put into a much better capacity for Salvation than others were who did not enjoy the same privileges. 3. *Upon account of meer profession and outward appearance, men are often called in Scripture Holy and Saints* (which is all one, &c.) So 1 Thes. 5. 27. *Let this Epistle be read to all the Holy Brethren.* So he calls the whole Church. So Heb. 3. 1. *Wherefore Holy Brethren, partakers of the Heavenly Calling, &c.* So we find the word Saints scattered so freely, and us'd so commonly in Saint Pauls Epistles, that we may rest assured it is not there applied to them only who are Saints indeed. Rom. 12. 13. *Distribute to the necessity of the Saints, i.e. Of all poor persons professing the Christian Religion, for they could not search or judge of their hearts, Rom. 15. 25. 26. Rom. 16. 15.* With innumerable other Texts to the same purpose. 4. *Upon the account of federal Holiness, are they called Holy who*
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are not all so in strictness of speaking, or in relation to eternal Life. So 1 Cor. 7. 14. The unbelieving Husband is sanctified (or rendered holy) by the Wife, and the unbelieving Wife is sanctified by the Husband, else were your Children unclean, but now are they holy; meaning federally (not savingly) holy; as the unbelieving Wife is said to be sanctified by her Husband, not savingly (for so many never are) but federally. 5ly. and lastly, Persons may be called sacred upon the account of their being inviolable, or such as do not lie open and exposed so as common persons do, but there is a *noli me tangere* upon them; Touch not, handle not, hurt not to be sure. Touch not mine annointed, and do my Prophets no harm. So the Feast of Jubile was called Holy, because inviolable, Lev. 25. Now though none but religious and godly Kings be holy, so as is meant when the Scripture saith, *Without holiness none shall see God*; yet every King professing the Christian Religion is sacred upon the five accounts last rehearsed, and in a peculiar manner upon the last of them, viz. As being more inviolable and unapproachable for the matter of hurting, more guarded from the violence of men, by the sacredness of his Office and Supremacy of his Condition, than Subjects are.

are. Yea and upon one accompt more, 6ly: *Kings and Rulers as they have more of the Image and Stamp of God, in point of Authority, therefore called Gods in Scripture, and they are set apart by God for his more especial service, as his Deputies and Vicegerents upon earth, may and ought to be counted sacred persons.* Now being *Sacred*, the injury done to such, especially the destroying of their lives, may very fitly be stiled *Sacrilege*. Now when I have spoken to two things more, viz. 1. *That Sacrilege is a very great sin; and 2. That this Regicide was very great Sacrilege:* I shall dismiss this 4th Article, and proceed to another.

May not the heavy judgments of God inflicted for *Sacrilege*, be alledged as a great proof of the hainousness of that sin; for though God hath now and then signally punished sins seemingly but small (yet it is possible they might be really much greater, all things considered, than we know of) yet ordinarily they are great and hainous sins, for which God visiteth men with great and heavy Punishments. And such are the judgments which God hath inflicted for *Sacrilege*, witness *Mal. 3. 9. Ye are cursed with a curse; for ye have robbed me, even this whole Nation.* Witness also what we read touching

touching *Eli* and his Sons, *1 Sam. 2. 25.*
 When *Hophni* and *Phineas* took away part
 of the Flesh which the People brought for
 offerings, to roast for themselves, *Eli* then
 expostulated with them: *If one man sin a-*
gainst another, the Judge shall judge him, but
if a man sin against the Lord, who shall en-
treat for him? Where their Sacrilege is
 spoken of as so great a sin, and so imme-
 diately against God, that they would find
 it hard to get any body to intercede for
 them (though in Law-suits betwixt man
 and man, Advocates and Council (as
 they are called) are allowed on both sides.)
 In *Jer. 7. 16.* God said to *Jeremy*, *Pray not*
you for this People, neither make intercession to
me, for I will not hear thee. And in *Exod. 32.*
10: *The Lord said to Moses, let me alone,*
that my wrath may waxe hot against them,
and that I may consume them. Now *Eli*
 spoke to his Sons, as if their sin had made
 God so angry, that he scarce knew what
 mortal man would dare to intercede for
 them, or be suffered by God to stand in
 the gap. Yea the following words are
 very severe, viz. *Notwithstanding they*
hearkened not to the voice of their Father,
because the Lord would slay them, i. e. God
 was so provoked by their *ignorish Sacrilege,*
 that

that he was resolved not to prevent their ruin by any special interposur e of his Grace, nor yet to put their Father upon what further means he might have used for the reclaiming of them, viz. By *hard blowes*, instead of *soft words* : Yea so angry was God with *Eli's Sons* for their *Sacriledge*, that it reached not their *heads* only, but also *run down upon the Skirts of their Father Eli* for not punishing of them at an othergues rate, than his tender over-indulgent heart had suffered him to do; because he smote them not as with *Rods*, God smote him and his as with *Scorpions*, 1 Sam. 2. 34. *This shall be a sign unto thee that shall come upon thy two Sons, on Hophny and Phineas; in one day they shall die both of them; v. 31. There shall not be an old man in thine House, v. 36. Every one that is left in thy House shall crouch for a piece of Silver and for a Morsel of Bread, and shall say, Put me into one of the Priests Offices that I may eat a piece of Bread.* These were the things which God bid Samuel foretell old Eli, 1 Sam. 3. 11. *I will do a thing in Israel, at which both the ears of every one that heareth it shall tingle: I will perform against Eli all that I have spoken, &c.* Nay in this case the All-merciful God seemed to be inexorable; *I have sworn that the Iniquity*

quity of *Eli's House* shall not be purged with sacrifices or offering for ever, v. 14. All these passages of Gods severe animadverting upon the *Sacriledge* of *Eli's Sons*, may bring to remembrance what *Bish. Hall* saith in his *Contemplations*, p. 19. Neither is *Achan* alone call'd forth to death, but all his Family, all his Substance: The Actor alone doth not smart with *Sacriledge*; all that concerns him is enwrapped in the Judgment. Those that defile their hands with holy goods, are enemies to their own *Flesh and Blood*.

But let us look a little farther into the story of *Achan* that great Warning-piece shot off by God to make the World forever afraid of *Sacriledge*. *Eli* and his House sped ill by reason of that sin, but *Achan* and his Family sped worse upon that account, if worse can be. 'Tis the easiest thing that can be to prove that *Sacriledge* was the sin for which so great and sudden destruction befel *Achan* and all that did belong to him, witness *Josh. 6 17*. And the City (meaning *Jericho*) shall be accursed, i. e. *cherem*, an *avaſta*, or devoted it and all that are therein to the Lord. v. 19. All the Silver and Gold and Vessels of *Brass and Iron*, are consecrated to the Lord, they shall come into the Treasury of the Lord. Now to rob God of that or any part of that which he had

had so solemnly set a part for himself, was as plain *Sacrilege* as ever was. Hear *Achan* confessing against himself, *Josh. 7. 20, 21.* *Achan answered and said, I have sinned against the Lord, and thus have I done; when I saw amongst the Spoils a goodly Babylonish Garment, and 200 shekels of Silver, and a wedge of Gold of 50 shekels weight, then I coveted them and took them, &c.* These were the things which he had sacrilegiously stoln. but how did they thrive with him? what did he get by robbing God? See *v. 24.* *And Joshua and all Israel took Achan and the silver, and the Garment, and the wedge of Gold, and his Sons and his Daughters, and his Oxen, and his Asses, and his Sheep, and his Tent, and all that he had, v. 25.* *And all Israel stoned him with stones, and burned them with fire, after they had stoned him with stones.* So highly was God provoked by that sin of his, that not only his own life must go for it, but also the lives of his Sons and Daughters (O overflowing guilt) yea his very dumb Cattle, his Oxen, Asses, and Sheep (and what had they done, or what was their crime, save that they were the servants of so bad and Sacrilegious a Master?) yea into the same flames were thrown his *Babylonish Garment*, nay his *Sil-*

ver and his wedge of Gold (as if it had been said , *Thy money perisheth with thee*) yet if one sort of death had not been enough for so great an offender , he was both stoned and burned , he and his ; and as if every man had been bound to have been an Executioner , or had an ambition so to be the text saith , *All Israel stoned them and burned them with fire* , v. 25. Every honest man had a stone to fling at a Sacrilegious Person , but *Israel* was particularly provoked so to deal with *Achan* , for his sin had proved a general Calamity ; on which *Bishop Hall* thus descants , *Only one Achan troubles the peace , and his sin is imputed to Israel. The innocence of so many thousand Israelites is not so forcible to excuse his one sin as his one sin is to taint all Israel.* When they went against *Ai* , the wedge of *Achan* did more fight against them than all the swords of the *Canaanites*. How common a pest *Achan* had been , you may gather from *Josh. 7. 20* *Joshua* said (to *Achan*) *Why hast thou troubled us, the Lord shall trouble thee this day, &c.*

How much *Joshuah* and the rest of *Israel* were troubled by means of *Achan's* sin, you may read *Josh. 7. v. 5, 6, &c.* Lord what a monster of a sin is *Sacrilege* , that a little of it , whereof but one man neither was personally

personally guilty, should trouble a whole Nation (and turn it into a valley of *Achor*?) Is this the sin that a few years since was so much slighted and reckoned for no sin at all? Is this that *Zoar* to which so many thousands of professors fled, not thirty years ago, and said, Their *Souls should live*? Was not this that foul spot, of which in those days men were no more ashamed than women are of wearing *black patches*? Did not many of them who seemed most zealously to *abhor Idols*, give occasion to be askt that question which *St. Paul* puts, *Rom. 2. 22. Thou that abhorrest Idols, dost thou commit Sacrilege?*

But of all the *Sacrilege* committed in those days, give me leave to say, that of robbing *King Charles the First* of his Life, God and his People of so good a King, was certainly the greatest. It must always be granted that *Persons* are more excellent than *Things*; the least of *Persons* are to be prefer'd before the best of *Things*, the Life of a Man above Silver and Gold, Houses and Lands; for (*all that a man hath would he give for his life*) one saith, *There is more excellency in a Flie, because it has Life, than in the Son because it has none*: Of all Thieves *Men-stealers* are the worst called, *1 Tim. 1. 10.*

ἀνδραποδισαί. Now the *Men-stealers* here spoken of, were such as stole Children to make Slaves of them, or to sell them for Slaves: But of all *Men-stealers*, they are the worst who steal away the Lives of Men who rob Men of their precious Lives: And of all the *stealers* of Mens Lives, are not they the worst who steal away the Lives of *Princes*, of good *Kings*? &c. (Whereas the people said of *David*, and it is true of all such as he, *Thou art worth ten thousand of us*, 2 Sam. 18. 3.)

Is it *Sacrilege* in the first, and immediate acceptance of the Word, to rob Temples or Churches of Stones, or other dead Materials, and is it not far greater *Sacrilege* to demolish and destroy one of Gods Living Temples? yea one of the greatest and most noble of them? Had *London* so great a loss when most of its Churches were burnt to the Ground, as when that one great *Temple*, of which I am now speaking, was demolished? Were ever any Temples built with Stone, or Brick so sacred to God as he was? Did the great God ever dwell so eminently, so sensibly in any *Temple made with hands*, as he useth to do in all Christian Princes, who are the *Temples of the Living God* in a more noble sense than any thing

thing without Life and Reason, ever was or could be? Could ever dead Temple be as it were a *nursing Father* to God Israel which Christian Princes are said to be?

Some have charged *Bels hazzer* with *Sacriledge* for alienating the Vessels of the Temple, only so far forth as to drink in them, when he feasted a thousand of his Nobles at one time; others have call'd the sin of *Ananias* and *Saphira* *Sacriledge*, and so it was to keep back any part of that which they had dedicated to God and to his Church; but sith the two first instances of *Sacriledge*, are much more notorious than these two latter, if I shall prove that Murthering of King *Charles* the First was greater *Sacriledge* than either of them, viz. Than that of *Eli's* Sons, and that of *Achan*, by proving the greater, I have certainly prov'd the less: for *Omne majus in se continet minus*. As for the *Sacriledge* of *Eli's* Sons it was but this, They took a part of Gods Meat (for so were Sacrifices as the Altar was Gods Table) and whereas it should have been boil'd for Gods use, they caused it to be rosted for their own. They rob'd him of part of his Meat, who if *he were hungry would not tell us, for his are the Beasts upon a thousand Mountains*, Psal. 50. 12. The

World is his and the fulness thereof, &c. They were over-kind to themselves and over-bold with God, which cost them dear, as you have read; but what is all that in comparison of being cruel to the Life of a Man, a Christian, a Prince, and our own Prince? The *Sacrilege* of *Eli's* Sons compared with that of Murthering the King, seems (if I may so speak) to have been *lighter than vanity and nothing* : Nay doubtless it did far exceed that *Sacrilege* of *Achan*, which was greater than that of *Eli's* Sons : For what was it that that *Achan* (who for his sin was stoned to death and burn'd, and called *the troubler of Israel*, because of the sad consequence of it) did steal from God? Was it not only a *Garment*, *some Silver*, and *one wedge of Gold*? Now what trifles, what meer bawbles are all those things, if weigh'd in a ballance against the Life of the King?

I thought to have wholly pass'd by the instance of of *Ananias* and *Saphirah*, their *Sacrilege*, which together with the lie that attended it, was punished with present death. How much less was their *Sacrilege* than theirs who put the late King to death? They rob'd the Church but of a *sacred estate*, if I may so call it, because devoted to God; but these of a *sacred Life* : nay they

they stole away but part of an estate, these destroyed a precious Life not in part but in whole. They with-held but what themselves had given and might have chosen whither they would have given, and could give again; but the Murtherers of our King withdrew that which they never did or could give, and which when they had once withdrawn, they nor all the World could never give again. They destroyed but one small sinew of the Church (if money may be so called, as it is called the sinew of War) yea did but strike that one little sinew, but these cut off the temporal Head of the Church (for so we own the King of *England* to be next and immediately under God Supream Head and Governor.) How great then was that *Sacriledge* which hath clearly outdone that of *Ananias* and *Saphirah*, that of *Eli's* Sons, that of *Achan*; yea the most notorious of all the *Sacriledges* recorded in Scripture, if not all those *Sacriledges* put together. Who now cryes not out as the Prophet *Ier. 9. 1.* *Oh that my head were waters, and mine eyes a fountain of tears, that I might weep day and night for the slain, &c.* slain with the Aggravations of multiplied perjury, high Treason, horrid Rebellion, transcendent *Sacriledge.*

Sacrilege. And so I have made good the four first Articles exhibited against the Murtherers of King *Charles* the First, &c.

5. *The putting of the late King to death was Homicidium, i. e. down right Murther: I need not fear to say, greater than that of David in the matter of Uriah: For there a King murdered a Subject, but in this case Subjects murdered their King, and Servants their Master. What is Murther but taking away the Life of Man without just cause, and without a just authority? If so to do be not murther, I wonder what is? If either of these be in the case, it is single murther (as I may call it) but if both do meet it is murther upon murther (if I may so phraise it) or redoubled Murther. Now they both meet in the case of King Charles the First. For First, If he had done any thing worthy of death, who but the King of Kings had authority to punish him for it, or to inflict upon him the death which he had deserved? If equals have no power of each other, as the Law tells us, that *Par in pares non habet potestatem*. What power can Inferiors have upon their Superior? Now he must needs be Superior to all the people of England, and they all his Inferiors, whom the Nation sweareth to own as the*

Supreme

Supreme: The Law of *England* being such as alloweth of no man to be put to death but by his *Peers*; whither *Lords* or *Commons* doth surely suppose that no man hath any legal authority to put a *King* of *England* to death, for what Fact soever, sith he hath no *Peers* (as that word signifieth equals) for every body else in and of the Kingdom is his *Subject*. Flagitious Princes, such as *Nero* (whatsoever become of their evil *Servants* and *Counsellors*) must be left to the justice and judgment of God, but *our hand must not be upon them*. Did not *Saul* by the hand of *Doeg*, whom he imployed for that purpose, *kill in one day 85 persons wearing Linnen Ephods*, 1 Sam. 22. 18 for which and for many other things he had well deserved to die: Yet I no where find *David* (who of all men was most provokt to do it) attempting upon his Life: yea I hear him saying, *The Lord forbid that I should stretch forth my hands against him, seeing he is the anointed of the Lords*, 1 Sam. 24. 6. *Muthology* represents *Achilles* to have been impenetrable and invulnerable, so far as he was anointed with *Ambrosia*, but Kings in a sense are anointed all over with the ointment of Divine Authority and Power, therefore *impenetrable and inviolable de jure*, what-

whatsoever they may be *defacto*. Give me leave to change the mode, and cry instead of *Plectuntur Plectantur Achivi*. If Princes err for want of good advice from those Subjects of theirs who ought to give it them, let *Subjects* pay for it, but presume not to meddle with the persons of *Sovereigns*, whom God hath reserved to his own immediate Justice: *Let them stand or fall to their own Master*, and who is that but God Almighty?

Would it not be *murther* in him who is no *Executioner*, nor appointed by the Magistrate thereunto, to put to death the fowlest Malefactor that was ever brought to a Gaole, because he has no authority so to do. To be sure they who put the late *King* to death, neither had or could have any *authority* or ἐξουσία, for what they did; for we have no such *Law* or *Custom* in *England*, thanks be to God, as to put our Kings to death if they do not please us: They may be free in their own perswasion to do such things if commissioned from *Rome*, for that purpose, who doubt the *Supremacy* of all Princes but the *Pope*, to whom they apprehend all other Princes to be of right in subjection; but we Protestants *have not so learned Christ and Religion*, as to think that
the

the Heads of all Secular Princes are at the Popes Devotion, and their lives in his hands, and that they are to hold them but *durante illius beneplacito* : During his Holiness Pleasure. Therefore I am amaz'd to think what kind of *Heteroclite* degenerate *Protestants* they were (if we may call them Protestants) who took the boldness to behead King *Charles* the *Martyr*.

Sixthly, The sixth Article which I exhibit against the Murtherers of the late Royal Martyr is, *that their fault was Regicide*, the murthering not of a private person or *subject*, but of a *King*, which gave a great accent to their crime, and made them as it were *double-died in blood*. Though the blood of Jesus Christ may and will upon true and lively repentance wash away the *Guilt* of *Royal Blood*, so as to prevent the eternal damnation of them that shod it (and oh the virtue and value of that Blood, that can do so) yet I know no Laver that God hath appointed to wash out the *stain* thereof; I mean the blot and stain which it always leaves upon the names and memories of them whose hands have been so imbrewed. To attempt that were to wash a Blackamore.

All injuries become greater by the greatness

ness of the object, or party against whom they are committed. Read the greatness of their sins in the greatness of the punishments, which God hath inflicted on them (as the Scripture tells us) who have so much as *resisted* or *rebell'd* against their Kings, but more against them who have put their Kings to death. When the *Moabites*, who had paid tribute to King *Ahab*, rebell'd against his Son *Jehoram*, 2 Kings 3. 5. They were sorely beaten, and the King of *Moab* brought to such distress, *that he took his Eldest Son, that should have reign'd in his stead, and offered him for a burnt offering upon the Wall*, v. 27. Again we read how *Howah the King of Israel was punished*, and the *Israelites* carried away Captive (though the Governours were Heathen and the Subjects the People of God) 2 Kings 17. because after he had made himself servant and tributary to *Shalmonezer, King of Assiria*, he afterwards denied him tribute, &c. In like manner *Zedekiah* King of *Judah* was punished, as you may see 2 Kings 25. 1. compared with chap. 24. 20. *Thorow the anger of the Lord it came to pass in Jerusalem and Judah, until he had cast them out from his presence (viz. giving them up to Famine, Desolation, Captivity, Destruction* of

of their City and Temple, *chap. 25, &c.*) that Zedekiah rebell'd against the King of Babylon, yea, see what is added *chap. 25. 7.* They slew the Sons of Zedekiah before his eyes, and put out the Eyes of Zedekiah, and bound him in Fetters of Brass and carried him to Babylon. Lord what a dismal train of Consequences insued upon a Jewish King, his rebelling but against a Babylonish King? Instance we next in *Sheba*, who rebell'd against *David*, and drew all the ten tribes after him; was he not by him besieg'd in *Abel*, had his head cut off by the advice of a Woman, and thrown out to him, *2 Sam. 20. 22.* The *Amalakite* that said he had slain *Saul*, though he had not slain him, and though he said that *Saul* bid him, was notwithstanding presently put to death at the command of *David*; saying this to him, *2 Sam. 1. 14.* How wast thou not afraid to stretch forth thy hand to destroy the Lords anointed? Yea, *David* was so incensed at it, that he cursed the Mountains where *Saul* was slain, *v. 21.* *Ye mountains of Gilboa, let there be no dew, neither let there be rain upon you, nor fields of offerings: for there the shield of the mighty is vilely cast away, the shield of Saul, as though he had not been anointed with oyl.* The meer murmurings of the *Israelites* against *Moses*,
are

are both spoken of and punished as *murmurings against God*, *Exod. 16. 8.* So *Num. 20. 13.* it is said, the people *chode with Moses for water*; and yet *v. 13.* it is said that the water was called the water of Meribah; because the Children of Israel strove with the Lord. *Hannaniah* perswaded the Jews to revolt from the King of *Babylon* only, and yet it is said, that he taught rebellion against the Lord, *Jer. 28. 16.* Was not *Miriam* punished with *Leprosie* but for speaking against *Moses*, *Numb. 12. 10.* Mind what God said and did upon that occasion, *ver. 8.* were ye not then afraid (ye, viz. *Miriam* and *Aaron*) to speak against my servant *Moses*? *ver. 9.* And the anger of the Lord was kindled against them, and he departed. *v. 10.* And the Cloud departed from off the Tabernacle, and behold *Miriam* became leprous. Nay, we find disobedience to the very *Priests* and *Levites* threatened with *Leprosie*, *Dent. 24. 8, 9.* Take heed of the plague of *Leprosie*, that ye take heed diligently to observe, and do according to all that the *Priests* and *Levites* shall teach thee. *ver. 9.* Remember what the Lord thy God did to *Miriam*, viz. who was stricken with *Leprosie*, for murmuring against *Moses*, who was no *Priest*, &c.

To perswade men to revolt from those Princes

Princes whose subjects they are, is yet a farther Crime than bare *murmuring*, and see how God punished it in *Ahab* and *Zedekiah*, who were rosted to death by *Nebuchad-nezzer*, *Jer.* 29. 22. And how *Shemaiah's* whole Family was likewise extirpated, *v.* 32. Hear *David's* Sentence against *Saul's* Servants for not using their utmost indeavours to preserve his Life, *1 Sam.* 26. 16. *As the Lord liveth ye are worthy to die, because ye have not kept your Master, the Lords anointed.* See how miserably *Rachab* and *Banah*, two of *Ishebosheth's* Captains came off, who murdered their Master, and carried his Head as a present to King *David*, hoping for a reward, *v.* 12. *David* commanded his Young Men and they slew them and cut off their hands and feet and hanged them up (possibly in Chains as a terror to others.) Had *Zimri* peace who slew his Master *Elah* King of *Israel*? Surely no, for when he was besieged by *Omri*, and saw that the City was taken he went into the Palace and burnt the Kings House over him and died, *1 Kings* 16. 18. How sped the Servants of *Amon* King of *Judah*, who murdered him in his House? See *2 Kings* 21. 24. *And the People of the Land slew all them that had conspired against King Amon, and*
K made

made Josiah his Son King in his stead. 700
 his Servants conspired against him and slew
 him, 2 Chron. 24. 25. (which was a most
 just thing on Gods part, to avenge the
 Blood of the Sons of *Jehoiada* the Priest,
 v. 25.) but how came they off; see 2 Chron.
 25. 3. *When the Kingdom was established*
to him, he (i. e. Amaziah) slew his Servants
that had behewed the King his Father.

If the Murtherers of private Persons be
 now and then reserved to the judgment of
 the great day to be punished, yet Divine Ju-
 stice and Vengeance, as if more concerned
 about the death of Princes than of Private
 Persons (by the instances fore-cited) seems
 to have alwayes overtaken those, even in
 this Life; who have spilt the Blood of Kings
 as Water upon the Ground. Whence is easie
 to infer that though *Homicide* be a very
 great sin, yet *Regicide* is greater, and that
 he was a King whom the Men I am writ-
 ing of put to death no man ever doubted.

Seventhly, Neither was it *Regicide* only,
 or the murthering of one who was merely
 a King, of which these men were guilty,
 but also *Justicidium*, or the murthering of
 a good King.

Who knows not that the wilful murther-
 ing of any man, though a bad, yea though
 the

the worst of men, is a great and crying sin? but the murdering of a good and virtuous man, a man of a thousand, is worse than that; and beyond either of them is the murdering of a good and excellent King; yea of one of the best Kings in the World, which is the case before us. Now by how much better the murdered person was, by so much worse was the *murther*, for *Corruptio optimi est pessima*; is a never failing rule. I dare not apply to this occasion thole words of St. Peter, *Acts 3. 14. He denied the holy one and the just*; because they are peculiar to our Saviour, who is the holy and the just one, κατ' ἐξοχήν, (and there is no man so besides him) but that the *martyred King* was a man of great vertue, is I think as generally acknowledged by them, that either knew him, or have seen what is in History concerning him, as almost any thing is. Who could ever tax him with *Intemperance* more or less? Who knew not the greatness of his *Patience* under his unparallell'd Sufferings, his *professed forgiveness* of his most provoking enemies? Who ever did read more Divine Lines, more pious Contemplations dropping from the Pen of any afflicted Prince, than his incomparable and

unimitable Book doth contain? But it will not stand with the brevity here intended; or with the *Symmetry* of this part with the rest of this Book, to write a History in this place, of that renowned Kings *Vertues*; but he that shall read his Life excellently written, as it is, by Dr. *Perringshief* and others, if he have any faith in Histories (as what wise men hath not some?) will not as much admire the greatness of his *Vertues* as the barbarousness of his *Sufferings*, and both together most of all?

Herein appeared the barbarousness of his *murtherers*, that they could find in their hearts to use a Prince so immensely ill who deserved so excellently well. The Apostle saith, *Rom. 5. 7.* *Paradventure for a good man some would even dare to die.* Were they Men or Monsters, or Devils incarnate, or what were they then, who instead of dying for a *good man*, put a good man to death? An *untimely* death, I had almost call'd it a *shameful* death, for so it in true tended, but that I know no shame was in *martyrdom*.

If any man doubt the *piety* of that *Martyr*, and the *tenderness* of his *Conscience*, let him but read the 2. *chap.* in his excellent Book, *viz. upon the Earl of Strafford's death.*

Because

Because when almost wearied out of his life by the importunity of those that he believed did wish him well, and us'd it as a *Maxime, Better one man perish (though unjustly) than the people be displeased or destroy'd*, he had complied to sign a Bill against the *Earl of Strafford's* life (*though without plenary consent to his destruction, as he himself saith.*) Lord! how uneasie was his Conscience: Reader, forbear weeping if thou canst, when thou readest those melting warning words of his. *I see it a bad Exchange to wound a man's own Conscience, thereby to salve State-sores; to calm the storms of Popular discontents, by stirring up a tempest in a man's own bosom.* But I will not prevent thy reading of that whole most excellent Chapter, which may almost warrant us; to call him, *A father of Penitents*, as *Abraham* was called, *A father of the Faithful*.

I shall conclude this *seventh Article* of my Charge against the *Murderers* of King *Charles the First*, with a short reflexion upon *David's* words to *Baanah and Rechab*, who cut off the head of *Ishbosheth*, and brought it to him, *looking for a reward*, 2 Sam. 4 11. *How much more when wicked men have slain a righteous person? shall not I re-*

quire his blood of your hand, and take you away from the earth? As if *David* had said (for that he meant) *Saul* was a wicked King, an enemy to God, as well as me, and yet when one told me, saying, *Behold, Saul is dead*, (viz. the *Amalekite*, who said he slew him by his own command, to put him out of pain, 2 *Sam.* I. 10) I took hold of him, and slew him, who thought I would have given him a reward for his tidings. If he were worthy of death who only reported himself (upon a pick-thankly account) to have kill'd *Saul* (who seem'd otherwise about to kill himself) and at his own appointment, who was then full of anguish, though *Saul* was a very wicked man (as aforesaid) what have they deserv'd who beheaded a virtuous King sore against his will, and best endeavours to the contrary, and that with many circumstances of barbarity, as you will hear hereafter.

And so I proceed to the eighth Article, wherewith I charge the said King's Judges, viz. *Hypocrisie*; I say with great *Hypocrisie*, practized in that fact. It was *Homicidium maxime Hypocriticum*. It was even the Master-picce of *Hypocrisie*, and the grandest Cheat under the Notion of Piety that ever was imposed upon the world. Now all
Hypocrisie,

Hypocrisie is a perfect Lye, and the fault that needs a Lye grows two thereby (as Mr. Herbert tells us.) Who that understands the intrigue of that Business, do's not cry out, *Tantum Religio potuit suadere malorum?* Could such a Monster spring from the Womb of Religion? Who laid that Brat at her Door? For it was none of hers. So Politicians talk most of Religion, when they mean nothing less; as if they would compensate by taking God and Religion often into their mouths, for their having nothing of either in their hearts. Commend me to a famous Story which I heard from a Reverend and dignified Divine, not far off, and not long since, which was to this purpose: An excellent Knight told me (saith he) that a year or two before the late War betwixt the King and Parliament broke out, there were several Meetings held at his house (then in Covent-Garden) betwixt some great Officers of State that were then in play, and other popular Gentlemen who had a great mind to their places. The late King was privy to all their Conferences (if not sometimes present) and finding where the *Cardo Controversiæ*, or Hinge of the Controversie was, viz. that some Popular, but yet private, and unprefer'd Gentlemen thirsted to get into publick Offices, such (as Mr. of

the Court of Wards, &c.) and that they would never be quiet till it were effected, yielded that all of them, save one, to whom he had some particular and unpardonable exception; should have and enjoy the Places and Offices which they sought for; but the King refusing him, and they being resolved upon one and all, hit or miss, the meeting was quite dissolved; and not long after the War broke out; which, saith he, could every one of those great Seekers have found the Preferment which he sought for, had been prevented. But that which the Author of this Story said most of all to my purpose was this: Whilst we were thus bandying at this our meeting from time to time, one half to hold the places which we were possess'd of (or *parta tueri*) the other half of the Company to throw us out and get themselves into our places; without those Walls nothing was talk'd of but Religion, what great contrivances there were at that time for reforming and settling Religion, whilst, God knows, within those Walls there was not all that while one word spoken concerning Religion, but some of us were willing to hold our Preferments, and others to get them away from us. O Nation sweetly cheated! O thou blessed Name Religion! how oft hast thou been misus'd and made use of to christen the most horrid Villanies:

For

For the Proverb has prov'd too true, *In nomine Domine incipit omne malum*: Was it not under pretext of *Religion*, because Religion, as was alledged could not be prefer'd; if he were suffer'd to live, *that that Martyrs blood must be made shed for the Church*? that the King's Head was said to be cut off? As if to cut off the *Head* of the Church of *England*, were the only way to keep life in the *Body* thereof: Now how fond and irrational a thing was it, how groundless and malicious a slander and censure, to say or think that the life of *King Charles the First* could not consist with the true Christian and Protestant Religion?

Moreover, they knew no more than their heels, when the *Religion* established in the Church of *England* by Law was gone, what to put in the room of it; for they themselves were not of one *Religion*: nay, what if many of them were of no *Religion*. What think you of *St. Martin*, and *St. Scot*, were they not pure Saints? with several others of those *Æacus's* and *Radamantus's*, who gave Sentence against the late King? Oh, how did they burn? Was it with zeal for *Religion*? A man would hardly think that *Religion* to be chaste and honest, which such men courted or seemed to court. What Religion,

Religion, I beseech you, in pulling down all the fences of the Church, and letting in all sorts of *little foxes and wild bores to spoil God's Vineyard*. If this were Reformation, it was not unlike that in *Egypt*, when the whole Land did swarm and was over-run with *Frogs and Lice, and Flies*, *Exod. 8*. Whilst these men pretended to the *honour of Religion*, who ever *disgraced* it more? to the *preservation* of true *Religion*, who *indangered* it more? to the *Reforming* of Religion who ever *deform'd* and undid it more? Look how the Ivy whilst it creeps into the wall, and clasp's close about it; embracing it as it were with greatest kindness, doth mean time rot, decay, and perish it: or look how the *Ap:* so hugs her young ones, as that she kills them with her kindness; so kind and no kinder were those *bloody Reformers* to true *Religion*, which they could have as ill afforded to have lookt in the face, as a *Debtor* his severest *Creditor*, or a *Malefactor* his *Judge*. Surely they were never intended by God for *Reformers*, considering what God said to *David*, *1 Chro. 28*. *Thou shalt not build a House for my Name, because thou hast been a man of war, or hast shed blood*. Who could expect a Reformation of such men's making, worthy the cost of that

Royal

Royal Blood wherewith they purchased it : That which they gave us was to dear by every drop which the purchase cost them. When I am convinc'd that *Jezebel* took the course which she took with *Naboth* upon a Religious account, that a zeal to reform Religion put her upon writing Letters in *Ahab's* name, and sealing them with his Seal, as it is 2 Kings 21. 8, 9, 10. saying, Proclaim a Fast, and set *Naboth* on high among the people; and set sons of *Belial* to bear witness against him, saying, Thou didst blaspheme God and the King; and then carry him out and stone him, that he may die. I say, when I believe that a true zeal against blaspheming of God, made her do as she did; who 'tis most certain, did all this meerly in order to what we read ver. 15. When *Jezebel* heard that *Naboth* was stoned and was dead; *Jezebel* said to *Ahab*, Arise, take possession of the Vineyard of *Naboth*, which he refused to give thee for money; for *Naboth* is dead. I say, when I so believe, then, and not till then, shall I think that an unfeign'd desire to promote true and undefiled Religion, to keep out Popery, and to reform Protestantism, as practis'd amongst us, was that which prompted the unhappy Judges of King *Charles* the Martyr, to send him packing out

out of the world. How hypocritical and false was the name that was given to the *Court* which tried him, called *The High Court of Justice*? For 1. we know it was no *Court*, for it was not any such thing legall; and nothing is a *Court* but what is *legally* so: and moreover his Majesty would never own it for a *Court*. 2. It was no ways *High*, but in *Pride*, *presumption* and *Arrogance* to undertake what they did. 3. It was to be sure no *Court of Justice*, for it was called together only to serve one turn (like *Jezebels Court* that was summoned against *Naboth* aforesaid) to do one wicked job or feat, that is, *per fas aut nefas*, right or wrong to cut off the *Kings Head*, and there was to be the end of it. But do men think that God will always be thus mocked? When *Ananias* and *Sapphira* added as little *Hypocrisie* as this comes to, to their *Sacrilege*, did it not cost them their lives, and were they not charg'd with lying *not only to men, but to the Holy Ghost*?

Now there is nothing of greater tendencie and efficacie to bring Religion into hatred and disgrace (if a man had a real design so to do) than to make a Cloak of Religion for all sorts of Villanies and to entitle them thereunto; to put *Rebellions* and
Trea-

Treasons, and *Sacriledges*, and *Murthers*, and *Regicides* all to its account, and to shelter them under its wings. They that make Religion the *weira'sappa*, which some do say signifieth the *Dung-cart*, which passeth by a City to receive all its filth; or like to those persons whom the Latines called *Piacula*, i. e. Sacrifices, on whose head all the sins and curses of the people should be laid, and expiation made by sacrificing of them. I say, thus to do by Religion, is the way to make every one smile at the naming of it, and bid defiance to it. Their sin had been less, if they had said in so many words, we will kill the Heir that the Inheritance may be ours, &c. To conclude this Article, Woto you *Regicides*. as because of *Perjury*, *Rebellion*, *Treason*, *Sacrilege*: so no less, because of what I mentioned last, viz. notorious *Simulation* and *Hypocrisie*. And so I proceed to the Ninth particular.

Ninthly, To all the former, I must needs add, That the putting of *King Charles the Martyr* to death, was *Parricidium*, *Parricide*, or the *murthring of a Father*, a Crime which useth to make the ears of all that hear such a thing done, to tingle. If a Son or Daughter happen to kill either of their Parents, all the Country rings of it; and it makes as
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it were an Earthquake throughout the whole Kingdom. But the *Parricide of Parricides* was then committed, when K. *Charles* the First was put to death, who was not only a Father to them that had a hand in it, but to the whole Nation : besides, a *common* Father, a *Political*, though not a *natural* Father. To be sure he was one of those whom the fifth Commandment intends, by the name of Father, when it saith, *Honour thy Father and thy Mother* ; meaning every whit as much *Kings* and *Princes*, whom God hath somewhere promised to make *nursing Fathers and nursing Mothers* to his Church; as those whom the *Scripture* calls the *Fathers of our Flesh*. For though we owe not our *Being* to them, as to our natural *Fathers*, yet our *well-being* we do owe to them under God ; though we owe not our *Generation* to them, yet our *Preservation* we do owe to them under God. Every good King is a *Protector* of his People, as to their *Lives, Limbs, Estates, good Names, Relations, Property, Religion, &c.* And is not that a great piece of Fatherhood (as I may call it?) Are not his Subjects *safe under the shadow of his wings*? Philosophers say, That *Preservation is a continued Creation*. If that be so, do we not owe as much to those

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by whom we are preserved under God (though not so preserved as by God himself) as to them by whom we were propagated. *David* did both represent himself, and was represented by others unto *Nabal* as one that had deserv'd very well at his hands, and the hands of his; because he was able to say, as it is, *1 Sam. 25. 7.* *Thy shepherds were with us, we hurt them not, neither was ought missing to them all the while they were in Carmel:* As who should say, It is a favour in those who have power over us (though no lawful Princes neither) if they do us no hurt. Also in the *15th ver.* we find one of *Nabal's* Servants thus pleading with *Abigail* the wife of *Nabal*; *But the men* (meaning *David's* Souldiers) *who came to salute our Master, and he rail'd on them, were very good to us, and we were not hurt, neither missed we any thing, as long as we were with them.* This they look'd upon as a great obligation, though that which followeth as a greater, *ver. 16.* *They were a wall unto us by night and by day all the while we were with them keeping sheep.* Nay, *David* himself insists upon it as a piece of merit, *ver. 22.* *Surely in vain* (saith he) *have I kept all that this fellow hath in the wilderness, so that nothing was missed of all that*
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pertained to them, and he hath requited me
 evil for good. Now Nabal's returning a
 churlish answer to a Captain and his Com-
 pany, who had not only not plundered, but
 protected him, tempted David to say in a
 great passion, as ver. 22. *So and more also*
do God to the enemies of David, if I leave of
all that pertain to him by the morning light
any one that pisseth against the wall. Did Na-
 bal owe so much to David and his Souldiers
 for not injuring him, or suffering others to
 injure him whilst they were near him, what
 then do we owe to good Kings for their
 fatherly kindness to us? In not dealing
 with us, as Samuel told the Israelites should
 be the *mishepat hammelec*, or the manner of
 a King's dealing with them, 1 Sam. 8. 11. *He*
will take your sons, and some of them shall
run before his Chariots: ver. 14. He will take
your fields and your vineyards, and your olive-
yards, even the best of them, and will give them
to his Servants. ver. 16. He will take your
goodliest Servants and put them to his work,
 &c. i. e. he will use them as he list, and
 you shall be able to call nothing your own;
 but he will let ye know that whatsoever ye
 call *yours* is now *his*, and shall be more at his
 command and dispose than at your own.
 If they who have power enough in their
 hands

hands to serve us so, do not, even for that we have cause to thank them and bless God on their behalf; but if they defend our **Lives, Limbs and Estates**; and above all *the true Christian and Protestant Religion* (as thanks be to God His Majesty that now is doth, and so did his Father before him;) we have cause to own them as our *Fathers, yea Nursing Fathers*. Such *Fathers* they are, as we are bound to *honour, fear, and obey*, more than our *Natural Parents*; for though we are bound to obey them in all lawful things (and are not bound to obey Kings in what is sinful) yet when the Commands of the *Parents of our Bodies* interfere with the commands of our *Political Parents*, or of our *Kings and Rulers*, we ought to obey the later rather than the first, *viz.* because what is enjoined by the former becomes *unlawful* when it is forbidden by the latter. I was about to say that respective *Kings* are not only *our Fathers* but *our Fathers Fathers, our Grandfathers, yea our great Grandfathers Fathers*, if they be living and within their Territories. Soon should we lose what our Parents gave us, *viz.* our *Lives and Estates*, if we had no *King or Rulers* to protect us. Receive it therefore for an indubitable truth,

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that *Kings* are *Fathers*, what then are they that murder them but meer *Parricides*? yea and the worst and most flagitious of all *Parricides*. The *Scripture* foresaw some such would be, 1 *Tim.* 1. 9. *The Law is not made for a righteous man, but for the lawless and disobedient, πατρωδαις καὶ μητρικωδαις*, i. e. for *murderers of Fathers and murderers of Mothers*, &c. But what punishment short of Hell its self, can be thought great enough for those that are such? Sith *Death* the greatest of all temporal punishments had wont to be inflicted upon Children, who were only disobedient to their Parents; yea since there is such a passage as that of *Solomon*, *Prov.* 30. 17. *The Eye that mocketh at his Father, and despiseth to obey his Mother, the Ravens of the Valley shall pick it out, and the young Eagles shall eat it*, i. e. Such persons as these shall not live out half their days, but shall come to *untimely* and *shameful* ends; as to be hang'd, or such like; and so their Bodies exposed to be devoured by such ravenous Creatures, as are *Crows* or *Eagles*, which are observed to aim especially at the Eyes of dead People (whether because a very tender part and grateful to their palates, or for what other causes I know not)

not) what then shall be done to those who not only *mock* but *murder* Kings, who are their *Fathers* in a more eminent sense than were they who begat them?

We propagate to the Children of our Bodies *original sin* and *actual misery* (which yet they ought to excuse us for, as because no man can help it, so likewise because they will do the same by their Children, when they come to have any, and so will all men in all ages; and we must not set the whole World a quarrelling) so do not *Kings* to their *Political Children*, i. e. their *Subjects*. *Kings* as *Kings* are *Fathers* to us only for our good and real benefit, therefore called *the ministers of God to us for our good*, Rom. 13. 4. *a terror not to good works but to them that do evil*, v. 3. i. e. Whosoever therefore shall *ravish* the Lives of them that are such *Fathers* by Office; but especially if such by a due *execution* of their office; punishing Vice and encouraging Vertue: what may or can they expect (to use and allude to the Apostles words, Heb. 10. 27.) *But a certain fearful looking for of Judgment, and fiery indignation, which shall devour the adversaries.*

Tenthly, Neither was their Crime meer

Parricides, as great a sin as that is) but also *Patriacidium*, if I may have leave *ενομεν. α. το πατρις*, or to make a new word upon this occasion: Now by *Patricide* I mean the murdering of their Native Countrey, putting that to death for which they ought to die if need were. The phrase of *killing ones Countrey* may seem *harsh*, but will be rendred more *soft* and *suitable*, if we call to mind an ancient wise saying, viz. *That England is a great Animal which can never die unless it kill its self*. If it may be call'd an *Animal* it may be kill'd; for whatsoever Creature here below is possess'd of Life, may also be dispossest of the same; but that none but its self could kill that *Animal*, was a great mistake, unless they took the word *Self* *synecdochically*; i. e. for a part of its self; for by a part of its self it was indeed destroy'd, or brought to the very brink of destruction, kill'd out-right, or brought within one step of death. Witness the grand and signal symptomes of *death*, which they brought upon it, for in that number are they reckoned by Physicians. *Magna flatulationes multa bigilia, morus convulsivi, & ipsissima convulsiones Pulsus Intermittens Facies Hippocratica, &c.* All which ill symptoms, or what was analogous to them, were

were found upon *England* in the time of their reign who cut off the Head of King *Charles* the *Martyr*. Let me add two or three more, viz. *Deliquium*, or frequent *Lipothymies*, Faintings or Swoonings: Also *Delirium*, Doting and Phrensie: I might have brought in *Singultus* or *Hiccops*, as another deadly sign, but that it is one species of *Convulsions*. Now give me leave to say our *Ruling Regicides* had brought upon this poor Nation and their Native Countrey, all the conclusive signs of death aforesaid, whereby it appeareth they had given *England* its deaths wound, but that God who killeth and maketh alive, who bringeth down to the grave, and saith return again; yea God who raiseth the dead, was pleased most miraculously to restore it to life again.

A short proof may serve for each of the particulars aforesaid, they being so much known to all ingenious men, that have either seen or read of the affairs and transactions of the late times: the truth is, the names of *symptomes*, which I mentioned, because by *Metaphor* applied to *politics* or *morals*, may need some little explication, but when that is done they will easily command assent and acknowledge-

ment. Briefly then were there not *Magna* *factationes*, that is, great *tossings and tumblings up and down* in those days (as dying men turn from side to side, sit up, lie down again, call to rise and to be removed from bed to bed, and chamber to chamber, finding themselves uneasie in every posture, seeking rest in change of posture though they find none.) How oft did we shift and change Governments in one year? pull down one and set up another, and pull down that again; *Sic cum voluit fortuna* *jocari*. So were we *handed* as it were by *fortune*, or *male-administration* rather, from end to end; so *reell'd* we too and fro like drunken men, or like a ship ready to be overfet with stiff and contrary winds; so found we *no rest for the sole of our feet*; and it was most easie to make the prognostick, that nothing but a miracle of divine power and goodness, could save us from sudden death and ruine. Such Governments as they then set up, seemed to be things that would not *keep* above a month or two, or little *Gourds* which had a *Worm* at their root, which caused them to wither presently. And as the Nation had at that time little *rest* in one sense, so little *sleep* in another; for were not the minds
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of men continually kept awake with *fears* and sad *apprehensions*, like people that live in an old rotten decay'd house who cannot sleep in tempestuous nights for fear the house they dwell in should fall upon their heads? These were the *magna vigilia* which I spoke of, or rather the causes why men could not *sleep* in those days as they desired to do, and ought to have done.

Again, whosoever knows what *State-Convulsions* mean, must needs understand that we had a great many of them in those days. There are *particular* and *universal* Convulsions spoken of by Physicians, *i. e.* some of particular parts only, as of the eyes, when they are distorted; of the mouth, when that is drawn awry, &c. Others again of the whole body, whereby a man is rackt, as it were, from head to foot; we had of both sorts in those unsettled times, Disturbances in particular Counties, otherwhile almost all the Nation over. We were pull'd and hall'd forward and backward, as one sort of Convulsion is called *ἡμικράσις*, another *ὁλική κράσις*; yea, sometimes the Nation seem'd to be *stiff* as a *stake*, to have no motion with it, answering to the Convulsion, called *τρίσις*, when it is so with a Body: Was it not often so

that we knew not how or which way to turn our selves?

Again, Could any Natural or Animal body have a worse *Pulse* than *England* had in those days? One while the *Pulse* of the Nation beat as high and feaverishly as could be, that is all things were done furiously, the Army called up to the City (which was to be the *Trojan Horse* for that time) the very Gates of the City appointed to be broken down, &c. Otherwhile the *Pulse* of the Nation did beat exceeding low, so it could scarce be felt, was *very unequal, intermitted often*; it was often *slow or languid*, like that which goeth by the name of *Pulsus myurus, vermiculans*, which is very bad; yea, *Formicans*, which is worst of all: The first of which *viz. Myurus*, betokens a *Pulse* that dwindles less and less like a Mous's tail: The second, *viz. Vermiculans*, a *Pulse* that creeps or crawles like a Worm: And the last, *viz. Formicans*; *i. e.* a *Pulse* that takes many steps like an Ant, but the poorest strides that can be thought of, as if it moved but a hairs-breadth at a time. It were easie, but that I would not be too tedious, to find out things in the late times that did bear proportion to each of these.

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As for *Deliquiums*, *Lypothimies*, or fainting-fits, nothing was more ordinary than them in those days: For, as *the whole head was sick, so the whole heart was faint, mens hearts failed them very much, for fear of those things which were coming upon them.*

That the Nation was then in frequent *Deliriums* or *Frenzies* is the easiest thing of all to prove; for how *madly* would men talk in those days, and how *wildly* did they act? Who hath not heard discourses of *drying up the River Euphrates*, interpreted to be seizing upon the Gold and Silver Mines of Popish Princes, which was to have been effected by taking *Hispaniola*, in lieu of which we accepted of *Jamaico*; also of sending an Army to *Rome* to pull down the Pope. Of our Saviours coming in the year 1666, now past and gone, to reign upon the earth; (and you know who intended or pretended themselves to be his Fore-runners.) And did not men act as wisely in those days as they talkt? How did they do and undo, set up and pull down again, and could come to no consistency?

That *England* in those times did fetch its breath very short, and was, as they say, very much out of breath (for so we had run our selves) was obvious to every mans eye and observation.

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As for *Singultus* or *Hiccough* (a very dangerous symptom in sick bodies) how to apply that to the case of *England* in the late times may seem hardest ; but the definition of that Disease doth agree thereunto, therefore the thing designed must needs do so likewise. What is a *Hiccough*, but a *convulsive motion of the Stomach, labouring to cast off something which sticks upon the coats thereof, and by either its quantity or quality rather, doth much offend it* ? Sure I am, many things did stick upon the Stomach of the Nation in those days, which fain they would have cast off, and did use their endeavours so to do, but could not effect it.

Lastly, That the Nation had *faciem Hippocraticam* in those days (or did look like death :) I appeal to all that were judicious Spectators of it. Did we not look so ghastly as would even fright one ? so pale, so thin, so wan, so sharp like a *Skeleton*, or like a deaths-head ; so like a body that the Grave waited for, and the worms stood ready to devour ? Were we not then the *pity* of our friends and the *scorn* of our enemies ? Thus low was a once flourishing Nation brought by the hands and management of cruel Regicides, men profound to make slaughter, to ruine and demolish, but how

how to cure the breaches and distempers of a Nation they had no skill. More I could say upon this head, but for brevity-sake, I pass on to the next.

Eleventhly, Taking away the life of the King was *Regnicidium*, or the destruction of a Kingdom. For one and the same blow cut off the head of *King* and *Kingdom* both at once. For what Kingdom can there be without a King? What signifies a body without a head? That Notion or Maxim of the Law, viz. That *Rex nunquam moritur*, i. e. *The King never dieth*, was methoughts become very *Metaphysical*, when the late good King did not actually reign either in his own Person, or in his proper Heir or Successor, or any of his Line and Family. I have been overfavorable in talking of their destroying one Kingdom, whereas the truth is they did destroy three *Kingdoms* at once, that were united under that one good King. The mischief of their so doing will more fully appear, by what I shall say under the next head.

Twelfthly, This their horrid murder was not only *Regnicidium*, & *Regicidium*, or *Monarchicidium*, but *Monarchia-cidium*, i. e. not merely the destruction of one *King* and three *Kingdoms*, or of one *Monarch* and

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Monarchy, but of all *Monarchy* or *Kingship*; of all that most excellent form of Government in all parts of the world, so far as in them lay. For 1. They gave other Nations a most pernicious Example of deposing *Kings*, and casting off *Kingly Government*. 2. Did they not make it their business by writing and speaking to disgrace *Monarchy*, and to bring all Nations out of conceit with it, and to make it odious to the whole world? 3. Did not the *Army* that then was, swear against being ever after governed by a single Person; but they only exchange'd (or suffer'd to be exchange'd) a *Rowland* for an *Oliver* (you know my meaning) and so therewith all was saved.

Now give me leave to tell you, in labouring to destroy *Monarchy*, they labour'd to destroy the best form of Government in the world (as they that know me, do know that I have often said and undertook to prove.) For *Monarchy* is that Government which the light of Nature leads men to, & necessarily casts them upon. For the truth is, all Governments in the world by what names soever they are called or distinguished, are nothing else but *disguised* and *imperfect Monarchies*. And this holds true
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both in *publick* and *private* Governments, as of Courts, Cities, Towns, *Families*, *Societies*, *Corporations*, as well as in *States*, *Commonwealths*, publick *Aristocracies* or *Democracies*, as they are called both in *Church* and *State*. Take the instance in *Juries*, Is there not commonly one leading man that sways all the rest? So in all *Committees*, in *Courts* of Judicature or other Courts. So in *Republicks*: so in *Congregational Churches*. For admit the diffused power of the two last should happen to be equally divided (as is possible for it to be, and yet to have a power of determining it self and turn the Scales) must not that be done by some one man? will it not necessarily issue there? For say, All power were in a *Senate*, consisting of a thousand men; admit there be all the Members of that Senate present at a debate, save only one; by means of whose absence, there being five hundred *Votes* on the one side, there can be but 499 on the other; upon this so great division you see the whole Affair is carried by *but one voice*. Even amongst those who by their constitution have an equal share in Government, is there not generally a *Dominus factotum*, a *Chieftain*, or *Superintendent*, a *Leading-man*, a man that hath
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the casting voice generally given him, in whose advice and counsel all the rest or the major part of them, do acquiesce ? And what is such a man but a *Monarch* in his place, and amongst those over whom he governs so absolutely, so uncontroulably, let him go by what name he will, either of *Justice, Magistrate* or *Minister, &c.* Kings themselves do not act without their Privy Council and other persons of Honor, who are assisting to their Affairs ; but in conjunction with them , their advice and assistance, they do what they please. And truly so do those *petty invisible Princes* or *Kings*, that walk *incognito* and under disguise. They in conjunction with some of the best *Head-pieces* that are about them, and by the assistance of their party which adheres to them, carry what they please, carry all before them, in spite of all opposition. Thus it was from the beginning, thus it now is, and will be to the end of the world. Were it not easie to say, Who is in effect a *Monarch* amongst the *Anabaptists*, and, amongst the *Quakers, &c.* ? So that all the Governments in the world are *virtually*, and in *effect Monarchies*, though the people see it not, and their Votes are little more than for *fashion-sake*, and to please

please them with a shadow of Power and Liberty, when their real power is little *more than to sit still*. He then that is an Enemy to *Monarchy*, and to every thing that is like it, will presently become an enemy to all sorts of Governments all the world over, which are indeed and truth but so many *Virtual Monarchies*, all things considered. So men fly the *Name*, whilst they continue the *Thing*; and alter the *Shadow*, whilst they accept the *Substance* of *Monarchy*, over them. Amongst those who are equal in power, the wisest will always govern the weakest, and they that by their *Wealth* or *Prudence*, or otherwise, can make the greatest Party will carry all before them. If then the *light of Nature*, and *universal practice of the world* hath determined *Monarchy* to be the best and most necessary form of Government, who can sufficiently decry their sin, who did not only destroy an excellent King and *Monarch*, but also aimed at the destruction of *Monarchy*, or *Kingly Power* throughout *Europe*, that if it were possible the Name and Thing might be rooted out, and might be restor'd no more. And so I have made good the 12th thing which I charg'd upon them, viz. an attempt to destroy *Monarchy*, though it be the best Government in the world.

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Thirteenthly, It must needs be confest they were *Self-murtherers*, or *Felo de se's*, who murdered the late King. For in taking away his life, they forfeited their own. If an *Earl* or a greater *Subject*, do wilfully but murder a poor Foot-man, or Beggar, by so doing he forfeits his life according to God's Law, yea, and the Law of *England* too. He then that kills a *King*, had he a hundred thousand lives, would by so doing forfeit every one of them, and be made to pay his forfeiture too, unless great clemency interpose. I remember no one *Regicide* in all the Scripture but what is punished with death, save only that of *Je-hu* committed upon the person of *Jo-ram*, which being done at the expresse command of God, ought not, I think, to be called *Regicide*. But I pass on.

Fourteenthly, The murdering of the late King was *Animacidium*, not only *Self-murther*, as to each of their *Bodies*, but *Soul-murther*, as to every of them, unless the infinite Mercy of God should step in and prevent it. Is Hell-fire the wages of them that wilfully murder but a private person; witness those words, *1 John 3. 15.* And ye know no murderer hath eternal life abiding in him: i. e. no wilful murtherer hath

hath *jus in re*, as to eternal life, i. e. any present actual capacity, to enter into life eternal; as he that was under a Leprosie under the Law might not for that time be admitted to eat the *Passcover*, though *jus ad rem*, i. e. a dormant suspended right, which may or shall be restor'd and reintegrated upon his repentance, that he may have as *David* had when he defiled *Bathsheba*; But divers do say, If *David* had never actually repented of that great sin, he had never had eternal life, but had been everlastingly damn'd: So *Baronius* in his excellent Book *De peccato mortali & veniali*. If the wilful murdering of one private man be enough to sink a Soul into Hell, what will not the murder of a *King* do? Will not God heat that Furnace yet ten times hotter for *Regicides*? *Korah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*, are called sinners against their own Souls, Numb. 16. 38. for rebelling against *Moses* and *Aaron*, i. e. for but *murmuring* against them, though not one drop of blood was shed by their hands. How greatly then have they sinn'd against their own Souls, who have rebelled and *resisted* even to blood? I have before quoted that Text *Rom. 13. 2. They that resist shall receive to themselves damnation.* I leave that word to

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fasten this head on their Consciences, as *a nail in a sure place*, and pass on to the next.

Fifteenthly, The murdering of the King was *Multicidium* (pardon the making of a new word in such a case as this) or *Cades multorum*; or *Homicidium multiplicatum & complicatum*, i. e. it was a great many murders in one. First, it was *virtually* so according to the *computation* which we read of, 2 Sam. 18. 3. But the people answered, *Thou shalt not go forth* (i. e. David should not go forth to Battle) *thou art more worth than ten thousand of us, &c.* Secondly, It was *actually* so, as the Complices in that violent action, by encouraging and emboldning each other thereunto, were guilty of the sin and death of one another. Thirdly, As the death of the late King was remotely the death of many persons and families, I mean the ruine and destruction of multitudes of Families, which depended upon him, which was worse than death its self.

Sixteenthly, *Putting of the late King to death*, was *Legicidium*, as well as *Regicidium*, i. e. the death of the Law, as well as of the King. For first, By the King's death a stop was put to the making of any
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more Laws, which might be judged necessary for the good of the Nation. For without the King no Law can be made : His Royal Assent, Sanction, and *Fiat*, makes every Law to be a Law : Therefore the *Parliament* did never presume to call any things by the name of a *Law*, which they made without the King; but by the name not of *Acts*, but of *Ordinances of Parliament*. Secondly, there was stop put to the execution of those good and wholesome *Laws*, which were before in being. *Execution* (say they) *is the life of Laws*, and who but the King is the great *Executioner* of *Laws*, or the life of their *Execution*? When *Judges* and other great men in the Law went off by death, who but a King could legally substitute others in their room? If any Justice be done by Officers not legally called and constituted, we must be beholden to *usurpation* for it. *Laws* are things full of life and spirit, if they be such for the *constitution* and *execution* of them as they ought to be; and upon the life of good *Laws* depend all our *Lives*, *Liberties*, *good Names*, *Estates*, *Properties*. It is as it were the *breath of their Nostrils*. If the true *Soul of the Law* go out of it (which is the King) they must either be restored by some

Usurper, or *usurping spirit*, or fall to the ground. They who destroy our Laws, or the due *execution* of them, had as good in effect *burn up* all our Ships, break down all our Forts and Fences; yea, they had as good almost cut down all our Banks and Buttresses upon the Sea-shore, and let in the Sea upon us, as do what they do. He that destroys one good *Law*, or the effect and progress of it, may do the world more mischief, than if he had destroy'd twenty men, yea, a hundred such as they might be. I had almost said, If a man could stop the motion of the *Sun*, *Moon*, and *Stars*, and all ther Influences upon the earth, their light, and height, &c. for ought I know, would not be more missed than the free course or progress of *Laws* would be. What *Death* then could be greater than their *demerits*, who kill'd not only the *Law-maker*, but the *Laws* themselves, which are all in all in all that we have to shew or plead for any thing that we call ours in this world.

Seventhly. Alas! alas! that I should yet have more wherewith to accuse those poor unhappy men, who put the late King to death; I say it was *Homicidium barbarum*, a *barbarous Murther* in reference to the circumstances of it. Who knows not
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that *cruelty* may be shew'd even towards a noxious Brute, which ought to be put to death ; as towards a *wild Boar*, or the like, namely, by making its necessary death more *painful*, or more *lingring* than it need to be ; but if the same thing be done to a harmless *Animal*, as to a *tame Dove*, or such like, the cruelty and barbarousness is yet greater upon that account. If the severity be applied to a reasonable Creature, man or woman, it is counted ten times so barbarous ; but when barbarous usage shall be applied to a *Prince*, a *King*, *our own King*. a *virtuous King*, and one that had been a man of sorrows, and acquainted with griefs for many years together. not to grant him as handsome an *Exit* out of the world, as could consist with an untimely death, was such a transcendant instance of *inhumane barbarity*, as I think no age can parallel.

Reader, If thy heart can bear the mention of them, which I assure thee mine hardly can, and if thou art content to weep a while (for the following Lines are scarcely to be writ or read with dry eyes) I shall quote a few instances of the barbarous usage which our dear and dread Sovereign, that then was met with, as I find them re-

corded in Dr. Perrinschief's excellent History of the Life and Death of King Charles I. To say nothing of the *King-killing Party* in *Parliament* and *Army* their over-ruling all the vigorous endeavours which were used from time to time by the whole House of *Lords*, together with the major part of the *House of Commons* to compromise all matters with his Majesty, having courageously Voted (though the *Army* was drawn up to *London* to over-awe them) That the *King's Concessions* were a sufficient ground for Peace, Dr. P. p. 174. But to come immediately to such passages as do refer to his Death. Some would have the King (saith Dr. Perrinschief, pag. 185. first formally degraded and divested of all his Royal Habilitments and Ensigns of Majesty, and then as a private person exposed to Justice. Others designing a Tyrannical Oligarchy, whereby they might have a share in the Government, would have the King proceeded against as King, that by so shedding his Blood they might extinguish Majesty, and so murther Monarchy. For several of them did confess that indeed he was guilty of no Crime more than that he was their King, and because the excellency of his parts and the rights of his birth would not suffer him to be a private person; pag. 186. In their second de-
 bate

bate about the matters of Accusation, all embraced the advice of Harrison to blacken him, &c. Ibidem. Accordingly they impeached him as a Tyrant, Traitor, Murtherer, and an implacable common Enemy, because he had levied war against the Parliament. Upon which the Author afterward descants thus excellently, pag. 187. Those who had none but the light of nature to make them generous, never reproached their conquered Enemies with their Victory; but these men would murther their Prince against whom they had nothing else to object, but the unhappy issues of a war, which leaves the Conquered the only Criminal, while the name of Justice and Goodness are the spoils of Conquerors. Most barbarous was their cruelty, because most inexorable. For (saith he, pag. 187. while they were thus engaged to perpetrate their intended mischiefs, all Parties declare against it. The Presbyterian Ministers, almost all those of London, and very many out of the several Countries, and some, though few of the Independents; The Scots also by their Commissioners declare and protest against it. The States of Holland also by their Embassadors did intercede and deprecate it, as most destructive to the Protestant Interest. Some of the most eminent of the Nobility, as the Earl of Southampton,

the Duke of Richmond, the Marquess of Hertford, and the Earl of Lindsey, and others, neglect no ways either by Prayers or Reasons to save the King; yea, they offered themselves as Hostages for him, and if the Conspirators must needs be fed with blood, to suffer in his stead. pag. 189. The Prince of Orange did daily send as Agents the Kindred and Allies of the Conspirators with full Power, and to propose any Conditions, make any Promises, and use all threatnings to divert them from their intended cruelty. But all was in vain: For no conditions of Peace could please them, whose Ambition had swallowed the hopes of Empire; therefore they would remove the King to enthrone themselves. To me it seems so barbarous, as nothing can be more, not to suffer his Majesty to plead for himself, because he would not own the Authority of the Court, which they themselves knew in their own Consciences was not vested with any lawful Authority, but was a meer usurpation, and a high affront, to bring a King before such contemptible Judges. See in pag. 194. At his departure he was exposed to all the indignities that a base rabble could invent and commit; when the barbarous Souldiers cried out Justice, Justice, Execution, Execution. See also page 199. The Conspirators meet

in a Committee to appoint the manner, time, and place of the murther. Now blush, O Heavens, and be ashamed, O Earth, at the reading of that which followeth. Some (saith he, page 199, and 200.) would have his Head and Quarters fastned upon Poles (as it is usual with Traitors) that the marks of their cruelty might outlast his death. Others would have him hang'd, as they punish'd Thieves and Murtherers. Others gave their Votes that he should suffer in his Royal Habilliments, with his Crown, and in his Robes, that it might be a Triumph of the People's power over Kings. At last, they agree, That he should lose his Head near White-hall-gates before the Banqueting-house that so from thence where he used to sit on his Throne, and shew the splendor of Majesty, he might pass to his Grave, there parting with the Ensignes of Royalty, and laying them down as Spoils, where he had before used them as the Robes of Empire. Thus did they endeavour to make their malice ingenious, and provided Triumphs for their revenge. And because they suspected he would not stoop to the block, they caused to be fastned in it some Iron-staples and Rings, that by them, with cords, they might draw him down if he would not comply.

Who can forbear to tell one signal Passage

sage of most barbarous and blasphemous
 Hypocrisie, which the same Author writeth,
 pag. 203. *Some of the chief Conspirators*
suspecting lest the Lord Fairfax should hin-
der the Execution, came to him that morning
that they had signed the Warrant for the Kings
Assassination, and desired him with them to
seek the Lord by Prayer, that they might know
his mind in the thing: which he assenting to,
 Harrison was appointed for the duty, and by
 compact to draw out his profane and blas-
 phemous discourse to God in such a length as
 might give them time for the Execution, which
 they privately sent to their Instruments to ha-
 sten; of which when they had notice that
 it was past, they rose up and perswaded the Ge-
 neral that this was a full return of prayer, and
 God having so manifested his pleasure, they
 were to acquiesce in it. But for further tor-
 menting my Readers heart and my own, I
 would add what the same Author tells us,
 pag. 205. *Thus the King finished his Martyr-*
dom, but the Enemies not their malice, who
abused the headless trunk. Some washed
their hands in the Royal Blood; others dip-
ped their staves in it, they sold the chips of the
block and the sands that were discoloured with
his Blood, and exposed his very Hairs to sale,
which the Spectators bought for different uses,
 some

some as the Reliques of so glorious a Prince, and some out of a brutish malice, would have them as Spoils and Trophies of their hatred to their lawful Sovereign. One is said to have curiously survey'd the murthered Carcass, when it was brought in the Coffin into White-hall, and to assure himself the King was dead, with his fingers to have search'd the wound, whether the head were fully severed from the body or no; pag. 206. Afterward they permitted the Body to be unbowelled to an Emperick of the Faction, together with the rude Chirurgions of the Army (not permitting the King's own Physicians to this office) and commanded them to search (which was as much as to bid them so report) whether they could not find in it Symptoms of the French Disease, or some other evidences of frigidity and natural impotency, that so they might have some colour to slander him, who was eminent for chastity, or to make his Seed infamous. Shew me who can, a Murther committed, though upon but a private person, with more barbarous circumstances of cruelty, inhumanity and malice, then was this upon the King? of which you may read more at large in the Book forementioned, p. 171. to p. 207. Read those passages over and over, and see how they make that
 sin

sin out of measure sinful ; and then consider if for the Nation to be humbled before God once a year for so prodigious and publick a Villany, be any more than is fit and necessary.

Eighteenth *Aggravation*, The Scripture will bear me out in the expression, if I call the *murther* of the late King by the name of *Deicide* , because the Scripture calls *Kings* by the name of *Gods*. *I have said they are Gods*; only allaying it with the following words, *but they shall die like men*. Though the true and the living God be *immortal*, yet there are certain *mortals* who are called *Gods*, even by him who is the true and only immortal *God*, or *who alone hath immortality* (*viz.* in and from himself.) And of this sort of *Gods*, are all *Kings* or *Rulers* therefore so called (because they have the Image and Inscription of Gods Authority and Majesty upon them, so and in such a manner as private men have not) though *Parents* and *Masters*, as such are vested with some lower degree of Power and Authority in their respective Persons and Places. Now the *murthering* of King *Charles I.* was the *murthering* of a *mortal God*. which is a greater sin by much than is the *murthering* of a
meer

meer mortal man. There are three sorts to which the name of God is applied, The first is, *God* Κατ' ὄψιν, *God by essence*, that is, he that made the World; all other are but *mortal gods*, and much inferiour to him: *To us there is but one; the true and the living God.* 1. There are *Dij* Κατὰ ψεύδος, *False Gods*; such were all the *Idols* of the Heathen. 3. There are *Dij* Κατ' χάριν, *Gods so called by Grace and favourable condescension*. Such are *Angels and Magistrates*: *Kings* are inferior to the true God, but superior to all *false Gods*; yea, in their own dominion superior to him who exalteth himself above all that is called God, &c. 'Tis much to be feared that whilst a sort of men busie themselves, and are much concern'd about that *Image of God* in Princes, which consists in *righteousness and true holiness*, and do either ascribe, or not ascribe it to them, and have been wont to respect or disrespect them accordingly, I mean as they have taken them for *Saints* or no *Saints*. I say, whilst men trouble themselves about that which is a matter of *hope and charity*, not of *science or certainty*; it is much to be fear'd they overlook that *Image of God* which is certainly in all *Kings and Rulers*,
as

as such, viz. in point of *Authority* and *Dominion*, which they ought to honor and reverence, though they knew the other were wanting. For most sure it is, That *Dominium non fundatur in gratia*. A man may be a *King*, and ought to be revered as such, though he be no *Christian*, but a profest *Ethnick* or *Heathen*. God has given the earth to the Children of men : Who would be to Princes if none were bound to obey them but such as do, and will own them for *Saints*. Then would they be *Sainted* and *un-Sainted* totes quoties, as oft as they pleas'd or displeas'd the people ; for so has been the manuer of men. Who cannot instance in men, who but a little while before were generally vogud to be but *carnal* or *moral* men, that to serve an end, have presently been run up to *Saints*, canonized all of the sudden ; and they who but a few weeks before were thought not to have grace so much as a grain of muster-seed, amounts to their grace in an instance, was become (by common fame) like as a great tree, so that the birds of the air might come and lodge on the branches thereof. But let me tell thee (Reader) even such Princes as were *Antiochus*, *Epiphanes* (or *Epimanes*, as some call him) and such as *Nero*, who
 respective

respective to their *morals*, have appeared in
 the world like *Devils*, yet were *Gods* by
Office and Denomination from Scripture
 (and we must alwayes allow that *God who*
is the fountain of all honour, is the best *He-*
rald, and best knows what title to give to
 every one) and in their place and sphere
 ought to be respected as such. Saint *Paul*
 when inadvertently he called *Ananias the*
high Priest a *whited-wall*, Acts 23. 3. for
judging contrary to the Law, when it was
 said to him, *Revilest thou Gods high Priest*;
 repli'd, *I wist not that he was the high Priest*,
 for it is written, *Thou shalt not speak evil of*
the Ruler of thy people : Not but that he of
 whom he spake it, was in and of himself
 as a *whited wall* or *painted sepulcher*; but
 nevertheless the respect due to a great
Noble ought to have been paid him in his
 place. Yea, to kill a very bad Prince were
Deicide, or the killing of a *mortal god*, for
 as a *Prince* he is a god. But what if a King
 that resembles God, not only in his *Great-*
ness but *Goodness*, not only in his *Power*
 and *Authority*, but in his *Purity* and *Holi-*
ness, in his *Wisdom* and *Mercy*; and several
 other of his most glorious Attributes (and
 such a one many have told us, that knew
 him, if we did not, was King *Charles the*
 First,

First, what if he be murdered by his own Subjects, are they not *Regicides* with a witness, that shall do it? yea, they have done it?

Now if any man shall ask me that invidious question (as some account it) which of the Kings Subjects was it that put him to death? I answer first of all *Negatively*, *Not the Body or Community of the Nation*, *not the major part or generallity*, but a few in comparison of them. 2. *Not the representative of the Nation, the Parliament I mean*; for all the *Lords* disclaim'd it, and most of the *Commons*, and were laid aside to make way for it; but *positively* first, All that were active in the War betwixt King and Parliament, must be confessed to have *remotely* and *ignorantly*, though not *voluntarily* and *intentionally* contributed thereunto, because that the murder of him had never been but for the War. Some *classical* men sore against their will and intention, were partly accessory to that most *unclassical* and *illegal* action.

But they must needs be charg'd with the *murdering of the King*, who suffered themselves to be made his *Judges* and to sit as such. His very *Executioner*, whosoever that disguised Caitiff was (for whom

it had been well if he had been born without hands, if not *that he had never been born*) was not so guilty of his death, as was every one of his presumptuous *Judges*. For *Plus peccat Author quam Actor*, is an old and a good rule; i.e. *The Author is worse than the Actor*.

Thirdly, *Some chief Officers of the Army that then was*, though possibly they were not nominated amongst his *Judges*, had as great a hand in his death, as any body had, and possibly were the first means of it, and the greatest sticklers for it. Their names and ends are sufficiently known.

Fourthly, That sort of men who not only adhered to the *Parliament*, but had a respect for the *Covenant* till neer the time of the *King's* death; and then of a sudden had wont to cry out, *The Covenant was an Almanack out of date*. And why said they so? but because the *Covenant* did seem to stand in their light, and to be a block in their way, who had a mind to have the *King's* Head cut off? I say, Those who cri'd up the *Covenant* till towards the year 1648. but then cri'd it down as much, and made an *Almanack out of date* of it, and about that time and ever after, did alwayes more adhere to the *Army* than to the *Parliament*;

N they

they were the well-willers to the death of the *King* ; they were promoters, countenancers and abettors of it. I have met with a parcel of *Names, Characters, and Periphrases* somewhere, which if I am able to expound them, do describe that Generation of men, who were best pleased with the *King's* death, and gave most countenance to it, before and afterwards, viz. The Cantonizers of the Church, the dividers and subdividers of it in semper divisibilia. The Mother Church of Enthusiasts and Enthusiasm in England. The Ecclesiastical Democracy. The close Persecutors of such as dissent or depart from them. They who pretend to run so far from Babylon, as that they run beyond Jerusalem. The Punctuallists, who demand Scripture for every punctilio or circumstance in and about the Service of God, but can shew none for many of their own Practices: ex.gr. Their Auricular Confessions of faith, &c. The people that talk much of a Judgment of Charity, by which they make Saints of those they have a kindness for ; and yet have less charity in judging of others than most men have. The Antipodes to Irelacy and Monarchy. The Disciples of the Council of Savoy, such as describe the Church of God, as if it were like to that which is unintelligibly said

said of the Soul of man, viz. tota in toto & tota in qualibet parte, Men of the new-found Discipline. The Trap-door men, who from that passage in the Covenant, which was for preserving the Life and Honor of the King, found this door of escape, viz. in the preservation of Religion, and insisted much upon it, That the life of Religion and the life of the King could not consist together. They who discourse and act as if every Member-Church were the whole body mystical of Christ, or as if Christ had innumerable entire bodies, or his whole body mystical in every place; where two or three are met together (as Papists say of his body natural.) The younger Brethren of Presbytery: For saith one, Our English Amsterdam was founded since our English Geneva. They who cried down the Covenant, as it was for Monarchy, and for the preservation of the King's Life and Honour; but did and do still cry up the Covenant against Prelacy, and to upbraid all Conformists with Perjury, who have declared the Covenant not to be obligatory. The great Freeholders in point of Discipline, who brook no Landlord in that point, or to have any Authority over them. The Hance-town Churchmen, who claim to have all Power and Jurisdiction within themselves, and say, Who is Lord over them? That sort of men, who of

all sorts of Christians seem to have least regard to one Article of our Creed, *viz. I believe the Holy Catholick Church* ; or they by whose practice one would think that were no Article of their *Creed*. If there be no sort of men to whom the Characters aforesaid do agree ; sith no Party is nam'd, none need to be concern'd ; but if any such there be, or have been, they were they who said of the King's death. Ah ! ah ! so would we have it. The Limner who drew the foregoing Picture thought it a disparagement to write under it, *This is the Picture of such an one* : for if it be like no body, it is good for nothing. 'Tis possible that some whom it doth not concern, will out of a jealous humour, apply it to themselves ; but let them be warn'd by what was said of one that did so. *I (said the Author of a certain Character) have made a Fools Cap, and such an one has put it upon his head, and fancies that it fits him.* But in good earnest, if the Painter have not wrong'd those people whose Picture he meant to give us, but such be their real Feature and Portraicture, if it be as like them as can be they are a people worthy to be exposed, chid, and rebuked, and most unworthy to be esteem'd by others, at
any

any such rate as they esteem themselves and one another. Let those Characters be intended of whomsoever (for I shall not pretend to know of whom they are intended, but I have found them somewhere) methinks the men of such a Complexion and Constitution as they seem to describe, must needs be some of those men that were *well-willers* to the death of *King Charles the Martyr*. For they can never love *Kings* well, who would be *Kings* themselves. *John 19. 12. Whosoever maketh himself a King, speaketh against Caesar.*

Fifthly, Doubtless *Fifth-Monarchy-men* gave no discountenance to the death of the King; for many of them thought long for the expiration of the *fourth Monarchy* (which they supposed might be at the death of the King or soon after:) For when all was *overturn'd, overturn'd, overturn'd*, then they thought he would come whose right it is.

Sixthly, But that the *Papists* should be so hearty for the King's Murther, as it should seem they or some of them were, is not that the wonder of all wonders? May not such a truth as that is be confirmed by the Testimony of two great Orthodox Divines? If so, they are forth-coming. The

first shall be Dr. Perrinshiefe, pag. 195. For there mentioning Jesuitical Counsels, headed, whose Society, it is reported upon the King's offering to give all possible security against the corruptions of the Church of Rome; at a Council of theirs, did decree to use their whole Interest and Power with the Faction to hasten the King's death, which sober Protestants had reason enough to believe, because all or the most of the Arguments which were used by the Asserters of this violence on his Majesty, were but gleanings from Popish Writers. Also pag. 213. the same Author saith thus: How little the Papists credited what the Faction would have the world believe, was too evident by the Conspiracies of their Father against his Life and Honour, which the discovery of Hubernefield brought to light. They were mingled likewise amongst the Conspirators, and both heated and directed their fury against him. They were as importunate in their calumnies of him, even after his death, as were the vilest of the Sectaries. For his sake they continued their hatred to his Family, abetted the usurpations of the following Tyrant, by imposing on the world new Rules of Obedience and Government; invented fresh calumnies for the Son, obstructed by various Methods his return to the Principality, because he was heir as well
of

of the Faith as of the Throne of his Father. My next witness (and two such witnesses may suffice as well as twenty) shall be Dr. *Moul.n*, Prebendary of Canterbury, in a Book of his called, *A Vindication of the Protestant Religion in the point of Obedience to Sovereigns, &c.* pag. 58. *The late Rebellion was raised and fostered by the Arts of the Court of Rome, Jesuites professed themselves Independent, as not depending on the Church of England, and in the Committees for the destruction of the King, they had their Spies and their Agents. The Roman Priest and Confessor is known, who when the fatal stroke was given to our holy King and Martyr, flourish'd his Sword, and said, Now the greatest Enemy that we have in the world is gone, I'll quote no more, but rather commend that excellent Book to thy reading.* Thus have we made a competent discovery at whose door the death of the late King doth principally lie.

Hereupon, methinks, I hear some saying, But what is the King's death to us, who had not the least finger in the death of the murdered King? What is that to us? *Let them look to it*, as was said to Judas, when in despair. *Answ.* There are many ways and circumstances whereby a man

that was not principally concern'd, yet may be brought in as truly *accessary* to the Kings death, or to any such thing as it was, viz.

1. *Connivendo*. 2. *Non reprehendendo*. 3. *Non praveniendo*. 4. *Non dolendo*. 5. *Demerendo*. 6. *Non deprecando*. 7. *Imitando*. 8. *Non detestando satis, & contra protestando*. 9. *Povocando*. 10. *Non puniendo cum possumus*.

'Tis much to be feared, that this whole Nation may come in for a share in the Kings death thus remotely, or upon account of one or other of the foresaid particulars: For 1. *Some did as it were connive at it when it was in fieri*, or bringing about, and did not do all they could have done to prevent it. Now to such that passage, 1 Sam. 26. 15, 16. may be applied, *David said to Abner, wherefore hast thou not kept thy Lord the King? For there came one of the people in to destroy the King thy Lord. As the Lord liveh, ye are worthy to die, because ye have not kept your Master the Lords Anointed: And now see where the Kings spear is, and the cruse of water that was at his Bolster.* Was not old Eli therefore charged with the sins of his wicked Children, because his Sons made themselves vile, and he restrained them not, 1 Sam. 3. 13. There is a Saying that would bear hard in this case, *Qui non prohibet cum po-*
test

rest jubet. 2. Some did not enough deprecate the death of the King, which every one was able to have done, though many could do nothing else but that to promote it. The old Armor of Christians, which are *Prayers and Tears* ought to have been taken up by all men, and managed to the best advantage for the defence of his Majesty's life. If that were not done, you were *remotely* accessory to his death. 3. If you did not sufficiently lay that to heart, mourn over, and bewail it, you are in some degree guilty concerning it. So had *Lot* been of the sins of *Sodom*, if he had not *vexed his righteous soul with the ungodly conversation of that place* (as he is said to have done, 2 Pet. 2. 8.) The Apostle chargeth the *Corinthians* concerning the Incestuous man, 1 Cor. 5. 2. saying, *Ye are puffed up and have not rather mourned that he who hath done this thing might be taken away from among you.* God sent his Angel, as we read, Ezek 9. 4. to set a *mark* (of preservation) *upon the foreheads of the men that sighed and cried for the abominations done in the midst of Jerusalem,* and upon them only: as who should say, the rest were involved in the common guilt. 4. If we have not duly *reproved* and *reprehended* such as had a hand in the King's death,

death, according to what opportunities we have had so to do; labouring to convince them of the horrible evil and sin of which they were guilty, and to call them to repentance then are we in part guilty of, and accessory to it our selves. So much is intended in that passage of the Apostle, *Eph. 5.11. Have no fellowship with the fruits of darkness, but rather reprove them;* implying, that they who reprove them not, are reckoned by God to have part or fellowship with them. 5. If we have not sufficiently detested the putting of the King to death, and seasonably entred a Protestation against it; surely we are in part guilty of it. *David* hath an expression to that purpose, *Psal. 101. 3. I hate the work of them that turn aside, it shall not cleave to me:* intimating, that the only way to have nothing of other mens turnings aside, or sins to cleave to him, was for him to hate their wayes: and as for entring our protest against other mens sins, see how careful *Josuah* was to clear himself by doing that, *Josh. 24. 14, 15. Put away the gods which your Fathers served in Egypt, and serve ye the Lord. And if it seem evil to serve the Lord, chuse ye this day whom ye will serve; but as for me, I and my house will serve*

serve the Lord. 6. They who do any ways provoke, stir up, or encourage others to a sin, the acting whereof they themselves do not touch with the least of their fingers, are for that reason guilty of that sin. Witness that most remarkable passage, *Exod. 32. 35. The Lord plagued the people because they made the Calf that Aaron made.* The people are said to have made it, because they put *Aaron* upon the making of it.

7. They who were any ways contributing and assisting towards the death of the King, though ignorantly, and far from intentionally, or to any of those things which did make way for the acting and accomplishing of that bloody Tragedy, were in part necessary to his death. As the men who broke off the golden ear-rings which were in the ears of their wives and daughters, and brought them to *Aaron*, therewith to make a golden Calf, are therefore said to have made that Calf, though they made it not a Calf, but only *Aaron* gave it a form and shape, *Exod. 32. 20. And Moses took the Calf which they (i. e. the people) had made, and burnt it. Causa causa est causa causati,* is an old Rule. 8. We become guilty of the sins of other men, which we imitate and follow; for in so doing we do as it were vouch,

vouch, vindicate, and justifie them. *Luke* 11, 49, 50, said the Wisdom of God, *I will send them Prophets and Apostles, and some of them they shall slay and persecute : That the blood of all the Prophets which was shed from the foundation of the world may be required of this Generation, &c.* 9. Lastly, (to name no more at this time) We may be guilty of other mens sins (and so of murdering the King in particular, *Demerendo* by our other sins, whereby we have provoked God to let so great a judgment (for it may be considered as a judgment as well as a sin) befall the Nation. Witness that pat Text, *2 Sam. 24. 1. And again the anger of the Lord was kindled against Israel, and he moved David against them, to say, Go, number Israel and Judah,* Now quit himself who can from all those remote ways of accessoriness to the late Kings death.

Now I am very prone to think that the *Accessoriness* of men to the sins of others in such way and manner as hath been expressed, is one of the best accounts that can be given why God punisheth some men for other mens sins ; *ex. gr. Israel and Judah for David's numbring of the people, 2 Sam. 24.* Particularly for men's justifying the sins of others, by treading in their steps, and doing wick-

wickedly as they did before them, which is very provoking to God ; witness *Dent. 32. 13, 14. The Lords anger was kindled against Israel, and he made them wander in the wilderness forty years, &c. And behold ye are risen up in your Fathers stead, an increase of sinful men, to augment yet the fierce anger of the Lord against Israel.* Possibly one main reason of God's imputing *Original sin* to any besides him that committed it (and whose *actual sin* it was) is because men do *justify* the same by their *actual transgressions*. For if *Adam* did not do well in doing what God had forbid him ; why do we the same thing, presuming from day to day to eat as it were of *forbidden fruit* ? Yea, I do verily believe, that God never did and never will impute *Original sin* to the eternal condemnation of any one person, male or female, that hath not or shall not rise up and justify the same by his or her *actual transgressions*.

But now lest the hearts of them, who were *primarily, immediately, intentionally, and wilfully* guilty of murdering *King Charles the First*, should be hardened by hearing that almost every body had *remotely or indirectly* a hand or finger in the death of that good King, give me leave to tell you,

you, that there is no comparison betwixt the greatness of their guilt who are the *principal Actors* the wilful and deliberate Contrivers and Executots of such a bloody fact as that was; and of others, who by some of the ways before-mentioned are become, sore against their will and intentions, and beyond all that they could ever imagine, in some sort *Accessary* to, and remotely concern'd in it, and at a great distance guilty of the same. It was occasioned by a *Lye* of *David's*, that as we read, *1 Sam. 22. 18. The King (i. e. Saul) said to Doeg, Turn thou and fall upon the Priests. And Doeg went and fell upon the Priests; and slew on that day fourscore and five persons that did wear a linnen Ephod. ver. 19. And Nob the City of the Priests smote he with the edge of the sword, both men and women, children and sucklings, and oxen, asses, and sheep. Hear David's Confession, ver: 22. that it was long of him; David said to Abiathar, I knew it that day when Doeg was there, that he would surely tell Saul, I have occasioned the death of all the persons of thy Fathers house. Now had David been as deeply guilty of the death of so many Priests, and other People as *Saul* was, who commanded *Doeg* to kill them, or as *Doeg* was, who did so willingly*

lingly execute that bloody command of *Saul* directly opposite to the Command of God, 'tis like he had been overwhelm'd with the sense of it; but as the case stood, he was not so, because, though he was not altogether unnecessary to the slaughter aforesaid, yet he had so small a hand in it, and was so very *remotely, indirectly, and unintentionally* concern'd therein, that his Conscience had not much to say to him concerning it. For it fareth in such cases as these, as it doth in some small and slender *Errors in judgment*, which may be charged with dangerous *Consequences* at the long run, they may possibly be no great prejudice to these that hold them, or are deceived by them, because they do utterly abhor those *Consequences* wherewith they are charged, neither do they apprehend that they are chargeable with any such *Consequences*. *Ex. gr.* Suppose that be an Error that some have made such ill use of, *That Christ shall reign upon the earth a thousand years*, though *Fifth monarchy-men* have taken occasion from thence to raise *Arms* and *rebel*, under pretence of bringing Christ to his Throne, yet ought not all that ever were of that opinion, or now are, to be counted *Rebels*. For there are and have been men
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of that perswasion, who knew full well that the Kingdom of Christ upon Earth stood in no need of mens sins and Rebellion to set it up, but would make way for its self when the full time was come. God forbid, that I should be so unjust as to charge every body, with the death of the *martyred King*, at any such rate as his Judges are charged with it; but this I am bold to say, *viz.* that the whole Nation, at leastwise by *deserving* that so great a judgment should befall it, as was the cutting off a good *King*, or by not sufficiently *bewailing* that such a thing was done, or not enough abhorring the tinsfulness of that fact, are become so far forth *accessary* to it, as doth give every man sufficient occasion to cast in his Lot amongst those that do fast and mourn upon every 30th. day of *January*.

And now, methinks, I hear some people objecting against the *Law* which hath established a perpetual Fast upon that occasion to be celebrated every year, and on such a day; as if it were a thing of which no good account could be given, or more than needs, and concerning which the great God would say, *Who hath required this at your hands?* As if it did but kindle coals, keep up revenge, renew heats and
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animosities, raise and disturb the Ghosts of the dead, which should be at rest; upbraid those who have received their punishment, and upon the whole matter do more hurt than good. Now to those who ask us, *Quò warrantò* do we keep our *Anniversary Fast* on every 30th day of *January*? To that I answer: 1. We have frequent instances in holy Writ, of Magistrates taking upon them to appoint *Religious Fasts*, 1 Sam. 7. 5. *And Samuel said, Gather all Israel to Mizpeh: And they gathered to Mizpeh, and drew water, and poured it out before the Lord, and fasted all that day, &c.* (Which passage the *Chaldee Paraphrase* doth thus gloss upon, viz. *Häuserunt aquas e puteo cordis sui & abunde lachrymati sunt coram Domino, resipiscentes, i. e.* They drew waters out of the wells of their hearts, and wept abundantly before the Lord; but that by the way.) See also 2 Chron. 20. 3. *Jehoshaphat feared* (viz. because *Moab* and *Ammon* were come up against him) and set himself to seek the Lord, and proclaimed a Fast throughout *Judah*. See also *Ezra* 8. 21. *Then I proclaimed a Fast* (saith *Ezra*) *that we might afflict our selves before our God, to seek of him a right way for us, and for our little ones, and for all our substance.* Also

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Esther,

Esther 4. 16. Go gather together all the Jews that are in Shushan (said Queen Hester) and fast ye for me, and neither eat nor drink three days, night or day; I also and my maids will fast likewise, and so will I go in unto the King, which is not according to the Law, and if I perish, I perish. See Jonah 3. 5. So the people of Nineveh believed God, and proclaimed a Fast. ver. 6. For word came to the King of Nineveh, and he covered him with sackcloth, and sate in ashes. And he caused it to be proclaimed and published thorow Nineveh, by the decree of the King and his Nobles, &c. All these Texts do manifest beyond all contradiction, That even the best of Rulers and Magistrates, such as *Samuel, Jehoshaphat, Ezra, &c.* have taken upon them to proclaim and enjoyn *Religious Fasts* when they saw causes for it: which doubtless so good and knowing men as these would never have done, if it had not belonged to them. So then, there can be no fault in Magistrates assuming to themselves to appoint a Fast, and Fasts, upon sufficient and meet occasions; though some cannot endure to hear of Civil Magistrates their meddling or making, more or less, about matters of Religion, no though it be to promote it; but I think they are more nice than wise in that particular. But

But may some say, Will the occasion bear a Fast, *viz.* The Death of the King so many years ago? To which I answer, Why not? Surely it will. Great Judgments either incumbent or but impendent have been the occasions of *Fasts*. So of *Jehoshaphat's* and of *Esther's* Fast; and why are not great sins as much and as just an occasion of a Fast, for they are causes and procurers of great Judgments? Have we not as much cause to fast and pray in reference to that *Guilt* which is upon our heads, as to *War* or other Calamities, which do but hang or hover over our heads? Now whereas some may think that though such an occasion as that may well bear a day or two once for all, yet an *Anniversary Fast* upon such an account as this is too much. I am not of their mind: For why not Anniversary Fasts upon great and and publick sins, as well as *Anniversary Feasts* upon great and publick deliverances? and that appointed by Magistrates too? Such was the Feast of *Purim*, i. e. of *Lots*, which was instituted by *Mordecai*, (who you know was a very good man) in remembrance of the *Jews* delivery from *Haman*, before whom *Lots* were cast from day to day for the destruction of them. We read al-

so of an *Anniversary Feast*, called the *Feast of Dedication*, ἐγκαίνια (a Feast wherein something is *renewed*, because those things only are reputed consecrated, which are separated from their old *common*, and dedicated to some *new* and *holy* use. That Feast was appointed by *Judas Macchabeus* to be observed from year to year for the space of eight days together in the Month *Cassien*, which answereth to our *December*. Of this *St. John*, chap. 20. 22. speaks and mentioneth our Saviour's presence there : *It was at Jerusalem the Feast of the Dedication, and it was winter. And Jesus walked in the Temple in Solomons Porch.*

God hath given us standing general Rules for set days of Fasting or Thanksgiving as the matter shall require ; but hath left it to the Rulers of the *Church* or *State* to appoint the time, whether every year, or as they please, and made it our duty to obey them in it, as in all other lawful things. God forbid that we should not obey the Magistrate in those Commands of his in which he obeys God ; and surely he obeys God in commanding those things to be done which God also hath commanded, or for which he hath given general Rules to be applied to particular times and places,

places, as the Magistrate shall think fit

If any do think that the Fast which I am now speaking of, is meerly a *Fast for strife and for smiting with the fist*. I utterly deny that any such thing doth appear to have been the Magistrates intent in appointing it, neither ought we to be so uncharitable as to think so, neither is there any necessity of making it to be so. For upon that day we call to remembrance a great and shameful sin which divers men have suffered for, yet it is not to make their persons more odious, whose lives have paid for what they did, but to stigmatize their *fact*, that the like may never be committed in this or any succeeding age; it is not to make the *Murderers infamous*, but the *Murder*, the *Regicide*, to cause that to stink in the Nostrils of all men. 'Tis not to grieve the hearts of their surviving Relations, *Widows*, or *Children*, &c. I say, it is to grieve no body that had no hand themselves in the death of that *excellent King*; but it is, *that others may hear and do no more so wickedly*.

I look upon a 30th. *day of January* to be the most proper day in all the year to preach up *Loyalty*, and to preach down *Re-*

bellion, not in any railing or reviling, but in a sober *rational* convincing way, and may all Pulpits ring with *Loyalty* on every such day, and *Rebellion* be rendered as odious on that day, as we use to render *Popery* and his *Holineſſ* on each fifth day of *November*. Did I know any person or persons that were so wretched and *croſſ-grain'd* as to turn a 30th. day of *January* into a kind of *Festival* or *Thanksgiving-day*, I would not doubt to apply to him or her those words, *Iſai. 22. 12, 13.* *In that day did the Lord call to weeping, and to mourning, and to baldneſſ, and to girding with ſackcloth. And behold joy and gladneſſ, ſlaying oxen, killing ſheep, eating fleſh and drinking wine. ver. 14.* *Surely this iniquity ſhall not be purged from you till ye die, ſaith the Lord God of Hoſts.* I was about to ſay, that as many people as do rejoyce at the remembrance of the late *Kings* death, do as it were put him to death afreſh (as ſome are ſaid to *cruciſie our Saviour again*, if I may ſo allude) and do what in them lies to bring the guilt of his *Royal Blood*, as much upon their own heads, as it was upon the head of his *Judges*.

Now in the cloſe of all, If any man ſhall ſay to me, *Cui bono?* or *Quorſum hac?* To what purpoſe is it for any man to ſet forth

forth the *murthering of the late King* in its colours (as you have done) since the thing is past and gone, and cannot be recall'd, and now there is no help for it, &c. To that I answer, By the same reason may you think it needless to call to remembrance any great *sin* of your own; saying it is past and gone, and now there is no help for it, To what purpose should I mourn over it? any more than *David* did over his Child, when perfectly dead? or why should not I rather do as he then did, of whom it is said, That *when the child was dead he washed and anointed himself, and changed his Apparel, and eat bread, 2 Sam. 20, &c.* I answer, Though we ought to sorrow as little as we can for those *Afflictions* which are gone over our heads, and cannot be recall'd, and to forget them as soon as we can, yet it ought not to be so with us, such ought not to be our carriage, in reference to our *sins*: *David* saith, That *his sins were ever before him*. Who ever condemn'd *Peter* for weeping, after the crowing Cock caused him to reflect upon his denying his Master? Who ever found fault with *David* for watering his couch with his tears, after he had polluted it with *Adultery*? If we could forget our *Afflictions* more, and our *sins* less,

less, it would be better for us. Sorrows are best forgotten, but sins are best remembered.

Possibly it is no more than God expects, that so notorious a fact should be publickly lamented every year. I am deceived if a good advantage may not be made of that days Solemnity, if piously and prudently managed, whereby to make more *Converts* and *Profelytes* to *Loyalty*, than have been in *England* of late years, and to bring men better acquainted with the *Doctrine* and *Duty* of *Obedience to the lawful Commands of Magistrates*, than they seem to have been hitherto: A *Doctrine* in which some men, the more their sin and shame, find no more relish than in the white of an Egg, and is one of those *sound Doctrines*, which some men will not endure, which is a part of that *ὑγιαίνουσα διδασκαλία*, that *healthful, wholesome, or healing Doctrine*, of which the Apostle saith, *2 Tim. 4. 3. The time will come when men will not endure sound Doctrine.* Moreover, I was about to say, out of that *Viper*, or viperous Action, viz. *Regicide* (at leastwise as one principal ingredient thereof) may a good *Theriaca*, *Treacle*, or *Antidote* be made against all *Sedition* and *Rebellion* for time to come; which things have
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now the death of a King to answer for, and are become more infamous and hateful than ever before, because *stain'd* and *tainted*, and made more execrable by the guilt of Royal Blood.

Upon the 30th of *January*, of all days in the year, let *Parents* instruct their *Children*, and *Masters* their *Servants* in the *fifth Commandment*, particularly as it contains the duty of *Subjects* towards *Kings* and *Rulers*. Possibly your *Children* and your *Servants* will be more obedient to you than now they are; when you have learnt to be more obedient to those whom God hath set over you in the *Church* or *State*; Nay, some good and pious women, whilst they are teaching their *Children* and *Servants* obedience to the *King*, may reflect and learn more obedience to their own *Husbands*. Upon that day, let every thing that is under *Government* be taught to obey. I do really think it a very great defect in *Parents* not to train up their *Children* in *Loyalty* (amongst other Principles of *Religion*, for that is one head of the *Fifth Commandment*) not to train them up in that way of their youth, that they may not forget it when they are old. Perhaps some *Parents* had kept their *Children* from those *untime-*
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ly ends which their *Disloyalty* hath brought them to, if they had done so. Let us possess our Families with awful apprehensions of *Magistracie*, and the necessity of obeying those whom God hath set over us in all lawful things ; and this especially upon every 30th. day of *January*. For want of this many are undone by scrupling what they need not, *viz.* indifferent things, and not scrupling what they ought, *viz.* *Rebellion*.

Is it not to little purpose generally for men to give their Children *Learning*, unless they instruct them in *Loyalty* ; for if they are to seek as to that, where, and in what capacity shall they use their *Learning*? What shall be the Sphere of their activity? A little *Learning* would serve the turn to preach to so few hearers, as the Law will afford, or allow them, who are not instructed in obedience. How many Lads of excellent parts and hopes, having suckt in *disloyal Principles*, as it were with their Mothers milk, have been put to mean and Mechanick Trades, and forced to live by their *hands*, who could have liv'd by their *heads* or *head-pieces* as well as most men, had they not been denied that Education that should have inabled them so to do.

It might prevent the ruine of thousands if such Texts, as some that I could name, were preached upon on every 30th. day of January, and handled as they should be; I mean so, as that the Reason and Consciences of men might feel what the Minister saith, and go away more fixed in Loyalty and Obedience, than they came thither. *Ex. gr.* one of the Texts I mean is, Prov. 24.21,22. *My Son, fear thou the Lord and the King, and meddle not with them that are given to change: For their calamity shall rise suddenly, and who knows the ruine of them both?* What we translate *given to change*, some render by the word *Rebellibus Rebels*, others by *nova Molientibus*, such as project or attempt new things, i. e. new Governments. There are two expressions that bid fair for the sense of those words, *who knows the ruin of them both?* 1. Who knows what ruine may fall upon them who honour not God and the King from them both: i. e. both from God and the King. 2. Or the words may be rendred, who knows, *Sheneicem*, i. e. *terminum annorum*, the end of their years and days, who are given to change and overturn Governments, how soon they may perish in their Rebellion, as did *Corah* and his Complices?

Another

Another Text which I wish that Parents would mind their Children, and Masters their Servants of upon every 30th, day of January, is Prov. 17. 26. *To punish the just is not good, nor to strike Princes for equity.* Methinks at the first hearing the words do sound as if the meaning of them were, That it is not good to strike Princes, under pretence of *bringing them as Delinquents to condign punishment*, of trying them by a pretended Court of Justice, or Process of Law, as Jezebel tried Naboth. Surely, if a man be either a just man, or a Prince, he ought not to be stricken by the hand of any man. If just, because he deserves it not; if a Prince or King, because if you could suppose him to have deserved it, he is to be reserved to the judgment of the King of Kings, as David said concerning Saul, 1 Sam. 26. 10. *The Lord shall smite him, or his day shall come to die, or he shall descend into battle and perish. The Lord forbid that I should stretch out my hand against the Lords Anointed.* ver. 9. And David said to Abishai, (who said to him, Let me smite Saul once with a spear to the earth, and I will not smite him again) for who can stretch forth his hand against the Lords Anointed and be guiltless? Cause your Children and Servants to read such

Texts

Texts as these upon every 30th. day of *January*. A disloyal Education, I perswade my self hath been the temporal ruine of many a hopeful Person. Let no Parents convey those groundless prejudices into the minds of their children, which may prove the seeds of *Rebellion* in time, at leastwise of *Faction* and *Sedition*, which will ever keep them from ever signifying any thing in this world, and consign them over to the woful temptations of *want* and *beggery*; and what if Parents, when they have compassed *Sea and Land* to make their Children *Froselytes* to their own perswasions, have proved but *ignes fatui* to their own children, meerly misled and misguided them? And whilst they being blind themselves as to those matters, lead their children as blind as themselves, both of them fall into the ditch? God secure all conscientious *Loyalty* and *Obedience* in this and all following Ages; and let all good and wise Parents cause their Children to suck it in with their Mothers milk, that such days of *Rebellian*, *Treason*, *Perjury*, *Sacriledge*, and *Murther*, as our eyes have seen, may never return upon us again.

Tell your Children that in such a year begun a *Civil War* in *England*, which ended

ed in the murdering, the *barbarous murdering of a good King* ; say that, and you need say no more to make any conscientious person tremble at the thought of another *Civil War* , or of contributing thereunto. Let the *murder of the King* be exposed to deter all after-ages from ever thirsting more after the blood of *Kings*, or at leastwise daring to gratifie and quench that their thirst, &c.

If Ministers will please to lay aside all *invective* language (if any be prone thereunto, of which I can charge no man particularly) upon each *30th. day of January*, and whatsoever may give people just occasion to say they *railed in the Pulpit*, using as (one expresseth it) *soft words and hard Arguments*, whereby to convince all gainsayers, that the putting of the late *King* to death, was an action monstrously wicked & an unaccountable sin to God or men: & if people will be so obedient to Authority, and so true to themselves, as to attend publick preaching and prayer on that day, the *Anniversary Fast*, may with the blessing of God, turn to a very good account, namely, of securing the *Peace and Safety* of the Nation, and of the respective *Kings of England*; and particularly of his gracious

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Majesty that now is, for ever after. Let us Ministers tell the people on that day how just and righteous God is, how God is known by the judgments which he executeth, the wicked being taken in their own snare, and in the pit which they digged for others; how he causes mens sins to find them out, and long forborn Murther and Regicides, to pursue men like Blood-hounds; how he brings the wheel upon ungodly men after long-forgearance, how though he be long-suffering, yet not ever-suffering; and when he maketh inquisition for blood, he will not forget the Blood of Kings, or suffer the shedding of Royal blood to go unpunished.

Mind your people how dangerous the beginnings of publick *Disturbances* and *Changes* are, even like sparks of fire in the midst of a Magazine of *Gun-powder*, and may prove of as dangerous consequence. When a King and his people are once engaged against each other in a *War*, ten to one but the issue will be, *either he will hang them if he have the better of it, or they will behead him if the day be theirs.* Think of *Solomons* words, *Prov. 17. 14. The beginning of strife is as when one letteth out waters, therefore leave off contention before it be medled with.*

with. Think also of the words of St. James, Jam. 3. 5. Behold how great a matter a little fire kindleth.

Labor on that day especially to bring one French fashion into England, viz. to cause the people of England to love and honour their King, as universally as the people of France are said to do, whose humour (and it is a very good one) is this (as I am inform'd) viz. If their King enjoy great renown and prosperity, if he be victorious and successful, a little matter else will content them, they are content with any thing, looking upon their happiness as bound up in his; and that if he be happy, they ought not to think themselves miserable.

A 30th. of January is as good and suitable a day as can be to exhort the people, as St. Paul doth, 1 Tim. 1. 1, 2. That not only supplications, prayers, and intercessions, but also giving of Thanks, *ευχαριστία*, be made for Kings and for all that are in Authority; and in order thereunto, to make them sensible how many and great mercies, benefits, and priviledges they enjoy under the Government of his Majesty that now is. Doth not the blood and spirit of Justice (if I may so call it) freely and uninterruptedly circulate in all the veins of this Nation?

Nation ? Was there ever less complaint of *Male-administration* in publick *Courts* than has been ever since his Majesties return ? What great numbers are there of able *Lawyers, Judges, Sergeants*, and others Learned in the Law ? And possibly as many Gentlemen of *honesty and integrity* as have been known of that Profession in any one Age. How well furnished are both the *Universities* with good *Scholars* and good men (though it cannot be expected they should all be such) especially *Masters* and *Fellows* of Colledges. And that I may instance in every of the *Liberal* and *Learned Professions*. How many Learned *Physicians* are there in *England*, far surpassing the number of Learned men of that Profession, it may be, in any part of *Europe* (for so I have heard.) Nay, how many scores of Pious and Learned *Divines* are there at this day in *England* ? (doubtless in no age all *Divines* were such) and amongst them how many painful and excellent *Preachers*, accurate *Disputants*, noble champions for the Protestant Religion, mighty *Goliaths* to encounter the greatest *Leviathan's*, and as rational clear-headed enemies to *Atheisme, Entbusiasme* and *Non-sense* as ever drew sword against those Enemies.

I was about to say, If God had given us leave to bespeak a *King* after our own hearts, or made one on purpose for us, such as we desired, he could not in sundry respects, have excelled what he now is :
Ex. gr.

1. In point of *Mercy* and *Benignity* ; I think he has *forgiven* more than any *King* did before him, or may do after him ; a more *unsanguinary Prince* never was in the world. Blame him not if he exact that *Obedience*, which is due to him ; but he cares as little for *Sacrifice* as ever *King* did, and as small a matter hath *atoned* him, as ever did atone any *Prince* so provoked and injured as he hath been. If he has not *fed his enemies when he saw them hungry, and clothed them when they were naked* (many men that were his enemies both in war and otherwise) never did any man do it.

2. In point of *Peaceableness*, for all know him to be the true Grandchild of *King King James*. He is none of those *that delight in War*, and are ever and anon immersing their Subjects in Seas of Blood. He loves not to quarrel his Neighbours round about him, and to Hector them into War, and to give up his people to the *Sword*, to *eat their flesh, and drink their blood* ; but had rather

rather have them sit under ther vines and under their fig-trees, none making them afraid.

3. If *Humility* and *Condescention* be an ornament to a Prince, and the advantage of his Subjects, I am much deceived, if his Majesty doth not abound therein; and yet reserveth to himself the *Majesty* and *Greatness* which doth become his place: What Prince in the world more *affable*, more *accessible* than he?

4. If it be a mercy to have a *wise* Prince, who understands his own business (as doubtless it is) tis well known by this time of day that he is one: none but a *wise Pilot* could steer safely in so great storms as his *Majesty* hath been in, and preserve a Ship from being lost, sayling amongst so many Rocks, and Shelves, and Sands, as he has done.

The wisdom of his Grandfather *King James*, as being one of the greatest *Royal Scholars* that ever was, began early to appear; for the warm Sun of so literate an Education quickly brought him to maturity. But the wisdom of *King Charles the Martyr* did then most gloriously shine out, when he himself was under a cloud of Adversity, and was like *Musick*, which makes

the sweetest melody upon the waters. So did his *Piety* and *Wisdom* upon the waters of Affliction. As a man may behold the Sun in a shady pit or well, better than above ground, for there is no reflexion from the earth to divert our eyes: So they who beheld *King Charles the First* in the deep pit or well of Affliction, saw his wisdom to greater advantage than it was taken notice of before, and in him that *Maxime* verified, *viz. Vexatio dat intellectum*. Quite contrary it hapned to his *Majesty* that now is (whom God bless for ever.) In the years of his *Adversity*, his wisdom and other excellencies were better known to *Foreiners* than to us his natural *Subjects*: for that he was then upon force-put, a stranger to his own Country and Kingdoms, and evil-minded men took the advantage of his Exile and absence to represent him as they pleased. But since his Return we have had as much assurance as we need to wish of the greatness and goodness of his *Princely Intellectuals*, of his being endowed with excellent *natural* parts (which brings to mind a *Scotch Proverb*, *viz. That one inch of Mother-wit* (meaning natural ingenuity) is better than an ell of *Clergy*. (And those *natural* parts improved and exalted by *foreign Travel*,

Travel, converse with all sorts of men. Experience both of Adversity and Prosperity, dispatch of business for many years together, the constant and assistance of wise Counsellors, and the advantage of his great Office and Dignity ;) and you know by how much higher any man standeth, by so much farther off can he see. So that now I know no man can question whether he hath great fitness and skill for the business and purposes of a King, great understanding how to govern in all points, and better skill to manage a Scepter, than any man who hath not a Scepter to manage.

5. If it be yet a further mercy or happiness to a people to have a King that is *active* or *nimble*, not dull or sluggish; so is he : I had almost said, that his Majesty seems to be as much an *Ubiquitary* when he pleaseth, *i. e.* here, and there, and every where (as his Affairs require his presence) as any man that wears a body. I had almost said, he hath not only a body so agile and active, as if it were a *Soul* ; but also a *Soul* so active, as if it were an *Angel*, rather than the Soul of a mortal man.

6. Is not that King a great mercy and blessing under whom his Subjects do live as *easily*, as *freely*, and as much like *men*, as

any Subjects in the world do ? Where more *liberty*, more *peace*, more *plenty* than amongst *English men* ? who by their Representatives in *Parliament* may be said to carry the *purse* at their Girdles, whilst his Majesty carrieth the *Sword* by his side. Go but over Sea to other parts of *Europe*, or of the world, and when you see how it fareth with *Subjects* almost every where else, what meer *Slaves* they are in comparison of *Englishmen*, you will look upon *England* as the most *temperate* Climate that any *Subjects* do live in ; and think with your selves that if there were but a Bridge *betwixt* England and other parts of the world, all *Subjects* would chuse to come and live here : (as is said in another case.) Verily, the *Subjects* of *England* are little *Princes* to what the *Subjects* are in other parts ; and to them I may apply those words of the Poet, *Fœlices nimium sua si bona norant. We are too too happy, if we did but know it.* If there be at this day a *Canian* upon earth like that of old flowing with milk and honey, I mean, abounding with all manner of good things, *England* is one, not for *Bodies* only, but for *Souls* also. In *England* God is known, and his Name great in *England* ; he hath not dealt so with every Nation, nor have they known his

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Statutes as we have done. Why then hear we such bleating of the sheep, and such lowing of the oxen? Why such murmuring & complaining, and not rather serving God with chearfulness in the midst of all the good things which we have in England. Is it not a great wonder that we should be the most happy of all people, and yet the least contented, the least thankful?

If it be a happiness to a trading people to have a King that maketh it his business to promote the *Trade* and *Traffique* of his people, we have such a one? I could safely produce a person of great worth and eminency, and of as much skill in Merchandize possibly as most men in the world, who has told me time after time, *bona fide*, that no Prince, to the best of his observation, was ever so much concern'd for the good of *Trade* or had more denied himself for the advancement thereof, than his Majesty that now is hath done? which I doubt not but he is ready to demonstrate to every rational man. But if after all this Trading be but dead, as that is the great complaint, and the very *cardo contraversiæ*, & *hinc illa lachryma*, may not his Majesty say to his people, *Am I in Gods stead? If the Lord help ye not*, in that point (as the King said to the woman of *Samaritæ*, that

cried to him for bread in the time of famine?) *How should I help you?* So it fareth with many private Families, they are but *poor*, and yet the Master of the Family is a man of double diligence, providence, forecast, rises early, and *eates the bread of carefulness*. Is it just and equal that his Children and Servants should be ready to stone him because he doth not grow rich upon all his labours: Nay, it is as God pleases for that matter; witness *Deut. 8. 18. Thou shalt remember the Lord thy God, for it is he that giveth thee power to get wealth*. If he that is poor in spite of all his diligence and care, had been careless and slothful, possibly his Family had been *starv'd*, which now is only *not rich*: So had we not had a Prince who had been such a *Nursing-Father to Trade*, as his present Majesty is, it may be by this time there had been no Trade at all, or next to none.

8ly. If *Kings* be Defenders of the Antient, Catholick, Apostolick Faith, The *faith once delivered to the Churches*, of the true Christian Protestant Religion, have we not cause to bless God for them as such? And such an one is he whom God hath set over us. Is not the *Protestant Religion* defended by him? Are not *Protestants* by him

him defended and protected in the publick, open, and free exercise of their Religion? So as *Papists* are not (who fly about like Bats rather than otherwise) Are not all the Preferments of the Church bestowed upon the Protestant Divines? have not they all the *Archbishopricks, Bishopricks, Deaneries, Prebends, Masterships of Colledges, &c.* amongst them? Are not good and learned Books against Popery licens'd from time to time, and Popish Books suppressed whether they come from beyond Sea, or endeavor to get out of our *English* Presses? Are not all publick *Ordinations, Administration of Sacraments*, and other Church-Offices dispensed after the manner of *Protestants*? Are not the *Articles* of the Church of *England* defended by his Majesty, and are not they all purely *Protestant*? Those things considered, who can deny his Majesty to be really a *Defender of the Faith*? And why should any man go about to clip his Title, any more than he dare to clip his Coin? May he not be truly a *Defender of the Faith*, though he be no *Defender of Presbytery*, either *Scotch* or *English*, nor yet of *Independency*, nor of *Anabaptism*, nor of *Quakerism*, nor of *Fifth-Monarchism*? I say, though he be no *Defender of* any of them
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in the *Abstract* (but only of their persons in the *Concrete*, who are of those persuasions) I say, he may be a *Defender of the Faith* nevertheless, and so he is, for none of these are the *Faith*: These are but *Mint*, *Annise*, and *Cummin* in respect of the great things of Religion, the *Magnalia Dei*, the two Tables of the Law, of which he is Keeper. Those are but the arbitrary *Modes*, *Habits*, and *Dresses* of Religion. Clothes do not belong to the essence of a man. A man is a man to all intents and purposes, whether he wear a *Cloak* or a *Coat*, or neither, or both. *Christianity* is the same thing in all good men, whether they wear *Gowns* or no *Gowns*, *Cassocks* or no *Cassocks*, and who are called either *Episcopal*, *Presbyterian*, *Independent*, or whatsoever else. So long as the *essentials*, *Vitals* and *Fundamentals* of Religion are guarded by the *Laws of England*, and the vigilant care of his *Majesty*, what becomes of those little *airy vehicles* of disciplinary names, divisions, and distinctions is the least thing of a thousand. For so long as a man *lays no other foundation than that which God hath layed*, viz. *Jesus Christ*, 1 Cor. 3. 11. building upon him by *faith*, *love*, and *obedience*, if he should chuse besides *Gold*, and *silver*, and
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precious stones, to build upon the foundation wood, hay, and stubble, that his superstructure would be burnt, yet himself should certainly be saved. If a man may go to heaven out of the Church of England, as well, yea, more readily than from Geneva or Amsterdam, and from under the Discipline of any of those places, let him look to it that he be a good Christian, exercising himself to have a Conscience void of offence towards God and men; one that worshippeth God in the spirit, rejoiceth in Christ Jesus, and has no confidence in the flesh, as it is Phil. 3. 3. and my Soul for his, having thus his fruit unto holiness, his end will be everlasting life. So a man come to Heaven at last, fighting a good fight, finishing a good course, and having kept the faith (i. e. having been true to the great Doctrine and Rules of Christian Religion defended by the Church of England, and his Majesty more especially, the Supreme Governor thereof under God) by a sincere life and practice thereof, I say, if a man persevering thus to do, come to Heaven at last, whether he come in the Kings highway (as I may call it) I mean, in the more eminent and beaten Road of Episcopacy, or in the more private, narrow, and unfrequented paths, the matter is not

not great. But I make account no man can ever come there, who shall live and dye an encourager of known *Schisme* in others (which is as truly a damning work of the flesh, as *Adultery* or *Murther*) or a wilful allower of it in himself.

'Tis no complement, much less flattery or blasphemy, to call him *Defender of the Faith*, by whom as much of Religion as is necessary to Salvation is defended, or rather we his Subjects in the free and safe exercise thereof, though the same favour be not shewn to those who turn aside from the only established Discipline (for but one Discipline can be established in one place) as to those who conform thereunto. If a man travel upon the *Kings high way* betwixt Sun and Sun, and be rob'd, he may sue and recover his Money: but so may not he that travelleth in By-roads, or cross the Country, or over hedges and ditches. I say, if any man rob them that shall chuse to travel in such by, obscure, and unguarded paths, no amends is made him; only if he chance to be kill'd or murder'd in any wood or wilderness, the Law will lay hold on him that did it. Let who will govern, or the Government be what it will be, they who conform thereunto will always find
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more regard and countenance than those who do not, though others may be tolerated and protected also. And so much of our *Kings* being *Defender of the Faith*, truly and properly so called, upon account whereof we have cause to bless God for him.

9thly. We have cause to give thanks to God for those *Kings*, by and under whom all the *great ends of Government* are provided for, and therefore for his Majesty that now is. By him all the *great ends of Government* are provided for. What are they, but in two words, *Religion* and *Property*? How *Religion* or the preservation thereof, and our protection in the profession and practice thereof are provided for, I shew'd under the 8th, and last head. 'Tis manifest that care is taken that *we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty*, as it is *1 Tim. 2. 2.* Also how *Property* is secured to us, may be gathered abundantly out of the forementioned particulars. Now if you have any thing more to expect from a *King*, declare what it is: For I confess I know nothing else that there is for him to do as a *King* for us, or for us as his Subjects to expect.

10thly, and lastly, I do solemnly appeal to
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the discontented people of the Nation, and to those whose mouths are most full of complaints; I say, I appeal to them in two cases, which I shall propound in the two following Questions. 1. Quest. *If you meet with less misery, enjoy more mercy under his Majesty that now is, than ye did expect or look for, have you not cause to bless God for him?* Quest. 2. *Do you not really meet with less misery and more mercy under his Majesty that now is, than you thought you should have done?* How oft have I heard many that were *Parliamenters* say, If ever the King were restored they should not be left worth a morsel of bread, there would be no being for them then in *England*; he would make the Land too hot for them, and all such as they. They had as good buy *Bishops*,, or *Deans and Chapters* Lands as not, for if a change came, they should as certainly lose their Lands of *Inheritance*, and what they got by their own labour, and was as free as any in the world, as *Kings* and *Bishops* Lands, if they intended to buy them. I know that many did look upon the King's return as the giving up the Ghost of all their joys and comforts, possessions and enjoyments. But did it prove so? Have not many of them seen as good days as ever

ever they saw before? Where is the *Pope* you prophesied of, that would come in presently? For you saw it *flying towards us, as upon the wings of the wind*? Where has been the *bloody Persecution*, the *Marian-days* which your minds boded to you? Have you not since that seen *days of Grace and Peace, and of the Son of man*? Is the *Ark taken*, as you thought it would be? Is *God gone*? Is the *Glory departed*? Is the *Gospel extinguished*? and the *Sun set* as it were at Noon day, as you fancied it would be? O leave your dreaming of Dreams, and divining of Divinations; away with those *hypocondriack vapours which turn to new Light and Prophecy*. Silence and flight your mistaken fancies: *Your eyes yet see your Teachers, and your ears hear them*. Now, even now, there is an *accepted time, a day of Salvation*. You were worse scared than hurt with the Alarm of a *King*: Such is not the manner of the *King* that rules over us, as is described *1 Sam. 8. 9.* ours is no such *King*. Are not your *Estates* (all but those that were ravished from the Church or State) continued with you? Is not the *Law* open and ready to defend you and yours if required, as much as any other of the *Kings Subjects*? If you be as quiet,
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may you not live as quietly as any people in England? To allude to that Text, *Psal. 126. 1. When the Lord turned again the Captivity of Zion, we were like them that dream.*

Are you not like men and women in a dream to see your selves in so good a plight and posture as you never expected to have been if God restor'd the King? Had God given you a new Law of thankfulness upon condition it should have been so well with you as now it is, would you not have accepted it with all your hearts upon those terms? If God has been better to you than his word or promise, your obligation is so much the greater.

Learn we then to bless God for our good King, to love, honour, and obey him; and let us cry out with the man after God's own heart. *Psal. 118, 28. God is the Lord which hath shewed us light, bind the Sacrifice with cords, even to the horns of the Altar. ver. 29. O give thanks to the Lord, for he is good, for his mercy endureth for ever.*

Now, Reader, let thine own invention tell thee how these heads may be further enlarged, and upon what other heads it may be most proper for thee to discourse, either in publick or private upon a 30th. day

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of 7 annuary sacred to the Memory of King Charles the first his Martyrdom.

I will detain thee no longer, than whilst I have made a little enquiry into one great Mystery, and resolved one perplexing Question, which is this: Quest. *If the murdering of the late King were so great a sin as I have deciphereed it to be, How comes it to pass that none of all his Judges (one excepted, who by common fame is presumed to be a man of more Conscience and Religion than the rest) no not of those who were executed for it, were ever, for ought I heard, learn to confess and bewail what they had done, but rather to carry and brave it out with such confidence and seeming innocence as the adulterous woman, Prov. 30. 20. of whom Solomon thus speaks: She eateth and wipeth her mouth, and saith I have done no wickedness. This their confidence hath cast such a mist before the eyes of some people, and so perverted their judgments, as to make them think there was nothing amiss in what they did, yea, to be almost perswaded, that they did God good service in it, and quitted themselves like Phineas, who stood up and executed judgment, and it was accounted to him for righteousness. Answ. But oh the mistakes of men! Oh the false Glosses which dazle the eyes of poor*

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filly mortals ! Oh the common fallacy which imposeth upon the world, *viz. Non causa pro causa!* They must needs have had the most false and flattering Consciences, the most deceitful hearts that ever men had, if ever they presum'd to tell them they had done well, or bid them, when taking their *Viaticum*, or last repast, to eat their bread with joy, and drink their wine with a merry heart, for God accepted their work, or that with such a sacrifice as that God was well pleased. Had an Israelite instead of sacrificing a Lamb, cut off a dogs neck, or offered Swines blood for an oblation to God, or bless'd an Idol instead of burning incense, or slain a man instead of killing of an Oxe, as God expresses in *Isa. 66. 3.* he might as well have promised himself Gods acceptance thereof, and his smelling a sweet savour of rest from thence, as those Murtherers of an excellent King could do of that bloody barbarous Sacrifice which they had prepared; to which I may aptly apply those words of the Apostle, *1 Cor. 10. 10.* But I say, the things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to Devils and not to God. No drink-offering ever cheer'd the heart of Devils and wicked men, so well (according to *Judg. 9. 13.*) as did that of Royal Blood. If ever there

there were mirth in Hell, surely it was upon that day. That was such a *Hecatomb*, as the infernall Fiends never had a greater offered to them; never a *Feast of more fat things* sacrificed to their malice.

That they who were the Actors in this bloody Tragedy were no more sensible of what they had done, might spring from two causes. 1. Because the sin, being so great and horrid as it was, might well bring a kind of *Apoplexy* upon their Consciences, and in some such *apoplectic Fit*, they, or some of them, seem'd to dye. For great sins, as well as great sorrows, and blows are apt to *stun and stupifie*, as I proved before. 2. Because there were many of them that were concern'd in it, and it might seem to them to be in this as in other cases; viz. That many hands make light work. 'Tis a very true and common observation, that when a great many men joyn together, when they go as it were in herds and droves, they do often venture upon doing of those things by consent, which were they invited to do alone, they would be ready to say as he, *Is thy Servant a dead dog, that I should do this thing?* One would think men were deceived with some such idle fallacy as this, viz. That if an hundred men joyn to-

gether in one Murther, or other high act of *Injustice* or *Dishonesty*, every one of them were but the hundredth part of a Murtherer; as if *multorum manibus grande levatur onus*, were a Rule that held in this case, but as thus applied, it is a very great mistake: For what our Law saith is consonant to right Reason, viz. That *in murther no man is meer accessory, but all are principals and obnoxious to death*. Shall I add a third. This their sin was not so universally gone before to judgment, as is a plain ordinary Murther, because it was coloured over with a pretence of *Law* and *Justice*, there were a great many that were ready not only to *vindicate* but *applaud* it; the mask was not quite taken off from it, nor the *vail of darkness* from the hearts of all the Spectators. This with a good strong *Cordial*, a sufficient *opiate*, and a *seared Conscience*, and an *ambition to set a good face upon what they had done, to make the best of a bad market*, to dye like *men and Souldiers*, and those that some would not doubt to Canonize for *Saints*, even for the sake of their *Regicide* (could they but keep their own counsel, by dying such in point of Resolution and seeming Assurance) those with some other things I could name, might be

be the true causes why they did or seem'd to die without the least remorse for what they had done. *But far be it from us to think the better, or more favourably of that sin, the committers whereof did or seem'd to dye without repentance.*

Now what I have written touching this matter, *I call Heaven to witness*, did not spring from any hatred that I do, or ever did bear to the persons of them, or theirs who had the *infamous honour*, or seeming honour, but eternal infamy of being the King's *Judges*; but from detestation of the *fact*, and a true desire that the like may be prevented for time to come; and whereas it is commonly said, that *some do love Treason but always hate the Traytors*; I by a *reverse*, do profess myself to have heartily *pitied* the persons of those *Traytors*, to have true compassion and good will to their innocent Relations that yet survive them; but mean time from my heart to abhor and detest that and all other *Treason*.

Did I say that as much' as I hate *Treason*, I have heartily pitied and do pity the *Regicides*, I do not mean that I think it any pity, that being what they were, they should be brought to an untimely end, to

an ignominious death, that I thought them too good to be *hanged, drawn, and quartered*, who had been so vile as to *behead* their King; all that they suffered in that nature was far less than they deserved. But I do really pity them in relation to their *poor Souls*: For *I wish* from my heart, *that all men might be saved, and come to the knowledge of the truth*; and *am not willing* if I could help it) *that any should perish everlastingly*: I wish no man so ill as to wish him in hell, or that he might die in his sins, that the bottomless pit might open its mouth and swallow him up. Sure I am, the *Regicides* did run as great a risk and bid as fair for *Hell* and *Damnation* as men could do by any one action, their fact being so transcendently and complicatedly wicked and abominable as it was. Had they courted *Hell*, and been fond of *Damnation*, what could they have done more to have enjoyed it, than to bain their own Souls, as much as in them lay; by an eternal Poyson compounded of all sorts of deadly Ingredients, one of which might seem sufficient to effect the work in spite of an Antidote. The great compounded Antidotes, *Treacle, &c.* do hardly consist of more Alexi-pharmaceutical Ingredients than this fact of theirs

theirs did of deleterious, and deadly things (or shall I call them *damnable Ingredients.*)

For first, Is *Perjury* a damning sin, or is it not? If not, what mean these words of St. James, Jac. 5. 12. *Above all things swear not, neither by the Heaven nor by the Earth, nor by any other Oath, but let your yea be yea, and your nay nay, lest you fall into condemnation.* Now in these words swearing, but vainly and frivolously, and that *but by Heaven or Earth, or other Creatures*, seems to be threatned with *damnation*; and is it not far worse and more damnable to swear *falsely*, and that by the Name of God, than to swear *frivolously* by the Name of any Creature? yet even the latter of those doth St. James deprecate with the most earnest obtestation: *Above all things, my brethren, swear not, neither by Heaven, &c.* 2. Is there no *damnable*ness in *Rebellion* think you? No danger that *Rebellion* should damn any man? Is that a *venial* and no *mortal* sin? Surely no: Witness the words of the Apostle; Rom. 13. 2. *Whosoever resisteth the powers, resisteth the Ordinances of God, and they that resist them, receive to themselves damnation.* Now in this case there was *resisting unto blood.*

3. Was no man ever damn'd for *Treason*? What think you of *Judas* who was a *Traytor* to his Master and Saviour; of whom the Scripture saith, *It had been good for him that he had never been born.* If he went to Heaven, if he were not damn'd, it was well for him that ever he was born: therefore those words do intimate that he was *damned*.

4. Can *Sacrilege* damn no man? Is not that of its self a *damnable* sin? Surely it is. For 1. *Sacrilege* is *Theft*, and the highest sort of *Theft*: For will a man rob God? saith *Malachy*. Now *Thieves* are brought into the Muster-rolls of persons that must be damned. 1 Cor. 6. 9, 10. *Know ye not that the unrighteous shall not inherit the Kingdom of God, nor abusers of themselves with mankind, nor thieves, &c,* It is well if *Ananias* and *Saphira* feel it not to their sorrow, that *Sacrilege* can damn Souls. In *Zech.* 5. 3. we read of stealing and swearing, as things each or either of which will bring men under the *flying-rod*, or *curse* of God. *This is the curse that goeth forth over the face of the whole earth: for every one that stealeth shall be cut off as on this side, according to it. I will bring it forth, saith the Lord, and it shall enter into the house of the*
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the thief, and of him that sweareth falsely by my Name: and shall remain in the midst of his house, and it shall consume it, with the timber thereof, and the stones thereof, ver. 4. Against whom but Thieves and Robbers is that threatening denounced *Hab. 2. 11.* The stone shall cry out of the wall, and the beam out of the timber shall answer it, (applied to the unsatiable Chaldeans.) Now in Sacrilege there seems to be a complication of Theft and Perjury, because it is a Robbing of God of that which was due to him by a Vow, or that men have sworn (for a Vow and an Oath come much what to one) that they will give to God. So was the case of *Ananias* and *Saphira*. Indeed the Sacrilege of some men is their robbing of God, not of what they themselves, but of that which others have made God's by a Vow. Now even they do fall under a horrible curse or execration. Things given or devoted unto God, called *ἁγιασμένα*, because they are devoted to God, with the accursing of them which should convert them to their own use; and so by a translated sense, the word signifies a perpetual separation from Christ. The Rabbins say of *Votum cherem* (now the Hebrew word *cherem*, answereth to the Greek word *ἁγιασμένα*, as
face

face to face in a glass) *est maximum volum.*
But to hasten.

5ly. Is *Murther*, wilful *murther* a damnable sin? If not, why saith St. *John*, *Ye know that no murtherer hath eternal life abiding in him*; i. e. hath any actual aptitude or capacity to enter into Heaven. Now if the *murthering* of any man, be he good or bad, high or low, superiour or inferiour, be a damnable sin, sure I am the *murthering* of an *innocent good man*, yea, of a *King*, a *good King*, which are great aggravations, must be so too. Yea, if the wilful *murthering* of any one man expose to damnation, much more needs must the *murthering* of many men at once.

Now the *Regicides* may be said to have been all of them *murtherers* each of other, because they did abet and encourage each other in and unto the *murther* of the *King*, in which was included their own consequentially. If there were forty of them, each of them was guilty of the death of forty, not the forty only guilty of the death of one man *viz.* the *King*; but each of them of forty *murthers*, *viz.* each of other; for that they strengthened each others hands in and unto the work.

Again, If *naked Murther* be a damnable sin,

fin, as hath been proved, that murther which is *cloathed* with *barbarous* and *inhuman* circumstances must needs be so much more. In *Judg. 19. 25.* we read of a *Levites* Concubine not only killed, but with circumstances that were very *barbarous*, viz. *forced to death* by the *Benjamites* dwelling in *Gibeah, Chap. 20. 5.* But what dreadful things ensued, *ver. 6.* *I* (saith the *Levite*) *took my Concubine, and cut her in pieces and sent her through all Israel, for they have committed lewdness and folly in Israel.* The product of this was what we read, *Judg. 20. 34, 35.* *And there came up against Gibeah ten thousand chosen men out of all Israel, and the battle was sore. And the Lord smote Benjamin before Israel, and the children of Israel destroyed of the Benjamites that day twenty and four thousand, and an hundred men, all these drew the sword, or were men of valour, as is said, ver. 44.* Though wilful murther it self, *cloathed* with the most extenuating circumstances be a great sin; yet the *barbarous circumstances* wherewith it may be *cloathed*, may make it twice so great a sin as otherwise it had been, and much more expose it to the Divine vengeance, as appeareth by the instance aforesaid. But to proceed,

6thly. If

6thly. Is *Hypocrisie* a *damning sin* or not? It must needs be so, because *Hell*, or the place of *weeping and gnashing of teeth*, is called *a portion with the Hypocrite*, Matth. 24. 51. intimating that *Tophet* was prepared of old as much for *Hypocrites* as for any sort of men. Doth not our Saviour let fly as many *Va's*, or *Woes* against *Hypocrites*, as against any sort of men, *Mat. 23. 14, 15, 16, 23, 25, 27, 29.* and does he not utter those dreadful words in the close, *ver. 33. Ye Serpents, ye generation of Vipers; how can ye escape the damnation of hell?* Now with what direful circumstances of *Hypocrisie* the late King's death was managed, I have told you before.

7thly. If it be a mortal *damning sin* to murder but one man, especially if a *King*, a *Monarch*, or any thing so great, is it not more, so to murder a whole *Kingdom*, *Country* and *Monarchy* at once? The whole *species* of *Monarchy* is much more than one individual *Kingdom* or *Monarchy*. Now I have shew'd before that was aim'd at in putting the *King* to death, which was not only *Monarchicidium*, but designed to issue in *Monarchiacidium*, or in the ruine of all *Monarchy*.

8thly. Is it not a horrid and damning sin to

to subvert and destroy the good and necessary *Laws* of a Nation all at once? Yea. Not the *Laws* only, but also the very *Legislative Power*, or the Power of making more good *Laws*, as the matter should require? If they who *resist* (or *disobey*) the powers that are, shall receive damnation, as the Apostle speaks, *Rom. 13. 2*. What will become of them, who in effect destroy and disannul all the *Laws* of a Nation at once, and all the Law-makers? Such were the *Regicides*. For when there was no *King* in *England* arm'd with power, no new *Laws* could be made, nor the old ones executed neither Legally; for who but a *King* has power to give Commission to *Judges* and other great Instruments of the *Law* upon all emergent occasions, &c? What the Apostle saith of the Law of God, viz. *The Law is good if a man use it lawfully*; is true of the Law of *England*, it is good if it be used lawfully or legally; but how could that be done when there was no *King* in being?

9thly. Is it not a damning sin for a man to *murder himself*, as did *Judas*, *Ahitophel*, &c? And did not they murder themselves who murder'd the *King*? For besides that they were *dead men* in the Eye of the Law, the

the first moment they *did or attempted* it ; did it not cost most of them their lives, and expose them to an untimely and shameful death, though no punishment could be so shameful as was their crime.

rothly and lastly. Is *Deicidium* , or *striking at the life of God himself* a damning sin ? If that will not damn men without great repentance what will ? The murdering of earthly Kings in *Person* , is it not a kind of murdering the King of Kings in *Effigie* ? For his Stamp and Inscription they bear , and from thence are called *gods* in Scripture frequently ; not that they are equal to the true and living God, yea, not but that *they shall die like men* , but because in point of *Power and Authority, of Honour and Majesty* they do resemble God much more than *Subjects* do. Now as he that should spit upon the *Kings Coin or Picture* would be dealt with as one that offered an affront and indignity to his Person, and were highly disaffected to him, so in this case. Now all those Soul-damning sins that I have mentioned, being in the womb of that one sin, *viz.* the murdering of the late King, let the Reader judge whether the *Regicides* did not take as direct a course to damn their own Souls as men could

could take? And whether if any shall hereafter attempt to do the same thing to his Majesty that now is, as they did to his Father (which God forbid) it will not prove as ready and certain a course not only to throw away their corporal lives with ignominy, but also to *damn their Souls*, and the Souls of their Confederates, as any that men could take.

I am hardned against those that shall say (if any such there be) That this was done in favour of Religion, and for the preservation thereof in power and purity; by a Story which a noted *Parliament-man*, and Purchaser of the revenues of a *Bishoprick*, told me about the yeat 1648. *Whereas* (saith he) *it is given out that all the change which hath been made has been in order to the preservation and Reformation of Religion, there is no such thing. For* (said he) *had there been Preferments enough in Church & State wherewith to have gratified all men of parts & interest, who were ambitious of them, I do assure you, there had been no war.* He was as capable of knowing what he said, as any man could be, being at that time a *Member of Parliament*, and a great man amongst them, though more plain-hearted than some others were.

The discoveries which I have made of

notorious *Hypocrisie* and blasphemous pre-
 tences to *God* and *Religion*, whilst men did
uti Deo at fruuntur mundo, i. e. use *God* that
 they might enjoy the world, together with
 the little difference, which I could ever
 discern betwixt the conversations of those
 that called themselves the *Godly Party* save
 in a few instances, here and there one, &c.)
 and of them whom they censured as *car-*
nal and *ungodly*, or but *moral* people at the
 best (for that the *morality* of some of them
 did much outstrip their own) has put me
 out of conceit with what had wont to be
 called *The Good Old Cause*, more than any
 thing else has done. And then to see that the
 Chieftains and greatest *Bigots* of, and for
 the good old *Cause* (as they call'd it) could
 swallow such a *Camel* as was the murdering
 of the King; yea, be themselves some of the
Camels that murdered him, or caused him
 to be murdered, whilst they seem'd to strain
 at meer Gnats, could say, *This is the heir,*
come, let us kill him, and the inheritance shall
be ours. Those I say, are the things which
 have made me think cheaply of those times,
 those men, and their pretensions, to sus-
 pect (if not more than so) a very grand
 cheat and a bottomless-pit of worldly inte-
 rest and carnal design in and under all those
 things;

things, and to wish heartily, that the *Church* and *State* might always continue as now it is, much rather than to fall back again into the hands of such *Tinker-like Reformers*, as were in those days (making ten holes where they mended one) and be re-invaded by hypocritical *Usurpation*, *Sacrilege*, *Enthusiasme*, and *Confusion*. If I know any thing of my own heart, I do at this very day sincerely love every body that I know or think to be truly good (and possibly my charity is as large as most mens, and my censoriousness as little) but as for those who make the highest pretences to Religion, and seem to be *Piety-like Calomelanos*, as Physicians call it, six or 12 times sublimed; or like the *Pharisees* of old, who said to other men, *Stand off, I am holier than thou*; who rather *blaze* and *blare* like great *Comets*, than shine like *Stars* in the *Firmament* of Religion; if I find them playing the *Knaves*, becoming the *Ring-leaders* of *Murther*, embrewing their hands in *Royal blood*; under pretence of *abhorring Idols* committing *Sacrilege*, and bringing all to confusion, and under colour of *Reforming Church* and *State*, to design nothing but the feathering of their own Nests, getting wealth and power into their own hands *per*

R

fas

fas & nefas, overturning, overturning, overturning, till they themselves, whose right it is not come and take all; and when they have done all, entitling God and Religion to all their Villanies: (like those with whom the great God doth thus expostulate, *Jer. 7. 9. Will ye steal, murder, and commit Adultery, and swear falsely, and come and stand before me in this House, and say, we are delivered to do all these abominations? &c.*) I say, the people to whom this Character is due, whose Inscription this is, are to my Soul (as one calls it) the *first-born of Abominations*.

Now after all that hath been said of the exceeding sinfulness of their bloody fact, *who were the Murtherers of the late King* and of the woful hazard which their precious and immortal Souls did incur thereby, give me leave to hope, that if the same opportunities should ever come again (which God forbid) *i. e.* if ever the now dissenting people of *England* should have so puissant an Army at their back as then they had, and so subtile, skilful, and resolute a General to conduct them, and so many covetous people at their heels, waiting to enrich themselves by the spoil of the *Kings and Churches Lands* (so dividing the Lions skin

skin when once he were dead) from a real dread of thereby plunging themselves into everlasting flames, they would rather burn at a stake, than have their hands in such another business.

To shut up all, I have been induced to insist so long upon the heinousness and danger of their sin who put the King to death, because a thorow belief, and due consideration of what I have said (and I do aver it is all true) might and would in my opinion, be a very great security against all publick Mutinies, *Insurrections*, and *Civil Wars* hereafter. For if the people of *England* did universally, and all as one man dread the thoughts of *Regicide*, as of a sin next to that which is *unpardonable*, there would be no cause to fear *Rebellion*; for then would men be govern'd and over-aw'd by this *Dilemma*: *If the King against whom we rebel shall always keep his head, we shall lose our lives first or last ; but if he lose his head by our means and contrivances, we shall be in great danger to lose our Souls, which is worse. For what will it profit a man to gain the whole world, and to lose his own Soul?*

F I N I S.